

AN APPALACHIAN TRADITION OF APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY;

A CASE STUDY OF AUTHORITY PATTERNS

by

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I hereby declare that

- 1) this thesis has been composed by myself and
- 2) that the research work documented within is my own.

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ABSTRACT

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This case study of one "primitive denomination" focuses upon both neighbourhood and multi-county regional levels. Primitive denominations, largely restricted to the Southern Appalachian Mountains (USA), are declining. When classified with "perfectionist denominations" as examples of "revivalism - fundamentalism - sectarianism", this decline, however is obscured - and thereby remains unexplained. We hypothesise that primitive denominations are "Central Possession Religions". This type of ecstatic religion (I.M. Lewis 1971) is found in the context of small, fluid social units and/or of oppressed conquered communities.

Three congregations are found at the neighbourhood level, correlated with three marriage-alliance clusters of "sets", i.e. three-generation cognatic kin units. Now in different denominations, these congregations developed from the same locally dominant religious group. This "Association" covers primarily four counties. Since its establishment in 1870, the group has undergone four religious crises; three since 1940. The religious ecstasy is the hallmark of a highly competitive religious elite. Proof of divine "call" is not however under "preacher" control. Divine call is demonstrated by conducting successful revivals and held in check by laity evaluation of the prophetic message by intensive bible study.

Urbanisation, reflecting elaboration of the stratification system, is an important factor in the development of "fundamentalist" and "progressive" faction-groupings. A prevalent congregation ritual, the "Church Homecoming", is positively correlated by Chi-Squared test

(at .001 significance level with one degree of freedom) with internal congregational tension. Conflict over polity, confederated versus centralised, has increased over two recent time-periods. Extended case analysis of one deviant congregation highlights the typical interaction between faction-groupings both within and outwith the Association.

Pervasive factionalism is deemed the most adequate explanatory concept when seen as a social strain-gauge indicating an unresolved issue of authority. Comparative review of selected Appalachian monograph reports supports assessment of an endemic long-standing indigenous opposition between what may be termed a "Primitive Christian Model of Society" and a "Model of Progress".

"The story goes that two mountaineers need three churches, one for each of them, and an extra one when they pull out, for these are men and women who take seriously their self-characterization as Christians, and although they may not live up to the standards they set for themselves, if they feel a church is preaching the wrong message, they leave."

Louise Burr Gerrard (1963:11)

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INTRODUCTION

We anthropologists do not know very much yet about the reasons for coherence and splitting of groups. We can define, and even predict in certain situations, the lines of cleavage; we can trace immediate causes, and we have some notion of the critical size of different sorts of groups in different situations -...- but we have not explained why in sixteenth-century Europe, on the nineteenth-century American frontier, and twentieth-century Africa there was such a rapid multiplication of little local groups. Why such rapid multiplication in these periods and not in others? All I can show you is that secular groups, such as rugby clubs, split and multiply in the same sort of way as churches in South Africa. The conditions determining coherence and splitting in society are perhaps the fundamental problem of social anthropology.

Professor Monica Wilson (1971:112-113)

The focus of this study is religious ecstasy as institutionalised in one of the denominations formed during the Second Great Awakening period, 1795-1835, in the Southern Appalachian Mountains, the American frontier in the early nineteenth-century. It is today the backwoods region of the "Bible Belt". This mountainous region is quite widely associated with poverty, family feuds, and extreme religious practices. The noted historian, Sir Arnold Toynbee, considered the area as one of the few places in the world where whites had regressed to the "barbarian" level (1934:312). Chisholm, a geographer, also notes (1968:29) the "meagre standard of living" as compared with the rest of the United States allowing production to be pushed further into remote areas than would otherwise be the case - thus indicating an economy out of balance. One social anthropologist, Gluckman (1959:22-23), refers specifically to the Hatfield-McCoy feud.⁽¹⁾ But the references

(1) This particular feud was a rather small one, however it nearly

by far have to do with the religious context.

Three social anthropologists besides Professor Wilson have noted the religious context. Worsley notes (1970:241,241ftnt) both the nineteenth and twentieth century situations:

Today, outside such backward regions as Melanesia, where they have a dynamic character, millenarian cults represent an escapist, passive trend and are principally confined to backward communities within the wider society: the White backwoodsmen and the Negroes of the southern States of the USA or the frustrated urban Negro population which has thrown up figures like Father Divine.* (*: There have been times when independent revivalism has also carried on the democratic 'log cabin' tradition of independence among peripheral communities.)

Jarvie calls attention (1964:88ftnt) to the current day situation in terms of the immediate local context:

By a 'religion-oriented' culture I mean one in which religion in an organised and institutionalised form still plays its traditional role of dominating the thought of the culture, and makes claims to being knowledge. If in a culture events needing explanation are appealed to religious authorities (as in India or the USSR, or the backwoods of the U.S. Bible Belt), then the culture is religion-oriented. I want to draw the contrast with societies in which the all-embracing character of any set of theories is mistrusted and subjected to criticism, and where progress in explanation is made.

I.M. Lewis specifies more closely (1971:44) the type of religious phenomena in question:

With the advance of medical science, the incidence of trance states interpreted by the Church as signs of possession has progressively decreased since the Middle Ages. Yet outside this rigid framework of established religion, fringe cults have increasingly taken over a mystical interpretation of trance as the sign of divine inspiration. This is certainly the manner in which trance is overwhelmingly understood in revivalist movements like those of the 'Bible Belt' of the USA,....

The seven authors noted above refer to the area by illustration however; we have set our task as attempting a case study of the least

brought the States of Kentucky and West Virginia to a state of war. For a brief sketch of the feuds in Kentucky, see Caudill (1963:46-51)

understood phenomenon albeit the most mentioned one: religious ecstasy.

In Section I we present the historical backgrounds of the settlement and subsequent development of religion in the Southern Appalachians. Here we must make a distinction between analysis from the vantage point of the United States as a whole and that from the vantage point of the Southern region, in which the southern Appalachian Region is located, as the holistic backdrop. We will discuss why we prefer the latter over the former as a starting point for analysis given the absence of specific case studies of religious groups, in contrast to religious movements, in the Southern Highlands.

In Section II we present our research hypothesis in terms of I.M. Lewis' distinction between two types of possession religion. We also present the definition of religion used in this study, a study basically divided into two parts in subsequent chapters. At the local-level we will be focusing on three congregations, currently in three different denominations. At the immediate regional level we will be focusing on the religious confederation of one of the local-level congregations from which the other two local congregations developed over the past forty years. At this point let us turn to Section I.

SECTION I

"Southern Tradition" versus "The Mainstream American Way of Life"

The religious picture of the Appalachians has been broadly sketched by both inhabitants of the region and outsiders. The inhabitants note the "spontaneous" "old-time religion" with "old-timey preaching"; the outsiders note the "sectarianism", "fundamentalism", and the "emotional" "revivalism". Religious ecstasy is highlighted by both the inhabitants and the outsiders. Spontaneous, old-time religion, old timey preaching, emotional, revivalism are all ways of specifying ecstatic phenomenon in the indigenous religious tradition. While both sketches highlight the context of religious ecstasy, the impression connoted by the inhabitants' and the outsiders' choice of words are as different as a Constable and a Picasso.

Most of the current analysis of Appalachian religion has been in terms of the known history of the revivalism movements arising during three periods in the eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth- centuries. There has been no case study on a mountain religious group although there is much analysis of individual congregations. It is on the basis of these orientations that Brewer states (1967:201) that the religious heritage has been pictured as "left-wing protestantism" with the following characteristics:

puritanical behaviour patterns, religious individualism, fundamentalism in attitudes toward the Bible and Christian doctrine, little distinction between clergy and laity, sectarian concepts of the church and its mission, revivalism, informality in public worship, and opposition to central authority of state or church.

Weller, from a background of mountain ministry, comments (1970:126-137) upon this characterisation of what he calls the "indigenous church" in

terms of how these traits specified by Brewer reflect the regions' overall value system. Taking each item raised by Brewer, Weller points out that the general morality system is puritanical whether one is a church member or not. In general, the mountaineer tends to be a loner, especially so when he is dissatisfied with the establishment. For a rural people many of whom live close to survival level, there is no inclination toward a more liberal doctrine characteristic of urban areas. Levelling influences are not restricted to the religious context but are diffused throughout the society - a holdover from the Jacksonian "democracy" which was rampant when the mountains were largely settled. There is little participation in any sphere other than the religions as even non-church people are little involved in community projects. Revivalism is the traditional form of evangelism; Weller even questions whether the reported emotionalism is really as extreme as described. All mountain life is informal, not just in matters of public worship. An innate suspicion of centralised government dates, again from Jacksonian times. It is heightened by the actual experience of government in the mountains; taxation without benefit, pro-coal and land rights of absentee owners, fights over whiskey distilling, neglect by local and Federal governments the norm. Weller's comments remind the sociologist of the social history of the region, cautioning against restricting attention merely to the religious history. As he calls attention to this more general background, let us sketch the religious history of the Appalachians against this backdrop.

Historical sketch. Religiously, the Southern region in general has been called a "land of high religious voltage". The religious features which commonly are most associated with both lowland and highland sub-regions are Revivalism, Sectarianism, and Fundamentalism. These

developed out of the Three Great Religious Awakenings⁽²⁾ which spanned roughly a generation on each occurrence. All three occur simultaneously with massive shifts of population. Revivalism originated during the First Great Awakening, 1725-1750, when the Northern Appalachians formed the frontier in New England and the near-West of New York and Pennsylvania.⁽³⁾ Sectarianism, along with a modified revivalism became established during the Second Great Awakening, 1795-1835, when the Southern Appalachians formed the western frontier. Fundamentalism, added to a synthesis of sectarianism and revivalism, developed during the Third Great Awakening when there was a nation-wide shift from rural to urban residence.

The basic issue of the First Great Awakening, 1725-1750, was the dispute over open-doctrine salvation versus predestined election. This issue grew out of the problems of incorporating non-puritans in the Puritan theocracies of New England. K. Erikson (1966) provides a sociological account of three religious crises over the century preceding the Great Awakening in Salem, Mass: the antinomian controversy⁽⁴⁾, the Quaker invasion, and finally the more widely known Salem

(2) Whether the religious events after 1945 could be considered a Fourth Great Awakening is still in dispute as revivalism, the usual trademark, is not a key aspect of these religious events as an independent movement, the Billy Graham Crusades notwithstanding. If Washington's analysis (1973) of Black urban syncretic movements is noted, then, to answer McLoughlin's query about a Fourth Great Awakening, attention should be focused on the ecstatic phenomenon associated with the so-called "drug culture". Washington calls attention to the non-christian religious aspects developing in the urban context, citing Father Divine as an example.

(3) The Appalachian Mountains are a series of mountainous ranges ranging over 1200 or more miles from the State of Maine in New England to the State of Mississippi in the South.

(4) The antinomian 'heresy' is that the believer holds that this world is only a low-order precursory phase of existence (Worsley 1970:298).

Village Witches.. This preceeding century was the time-period of the rivalry between England and France over the fur trade in the back-country areas. There were also conflicting claims among the Iroquois, Shawnee and Cherokee Indians over the jurisdiction of the mountain region. Troubles between Whites and Indians were over land surveying rather than fur trade rivalries. The mountains were traversed by trails because this region was used as a hunting resource area, a source for salt, and quick routes for raiding parties.

The lack of tolerance by the theocratic communities led to the decision that revivals were needed to revive and "awaken" the spiritual nature of man because it was decided that this could no longer be left to spontaneous and unpredictable realisation and acceptance. The Presbyterians originated the use of revivals during "camp-meetings" in the backcountry. When the emotionalism generated grew out of control they quickly returned to their traditional modes of evangelism. Other groups, the Baptists especially, incorporated the revival into their stress on adult conversion. The Methodists, already having a circuit ministry system, expanded it to include the lay religious leaders in the backcountry as "exhorters" working in conjunction with a circuit riding minister.

In terms of the settlement of the Southern Appalachians, the First Great Awakening had little impact. No part of this highland region was settled before 1730. But by 1750, the Central Valley of Virginia (See Map, Figure I overleaf) was settled as were the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge in Virginia and the Carolinas. No hilly portions however were settled until after 1800. This was partly because the British got most of the Indians to forgo neutrality in the American Revolutionary War leading to an additional twelve years of hostilities even after the official war was declared over in 1789. Despite the

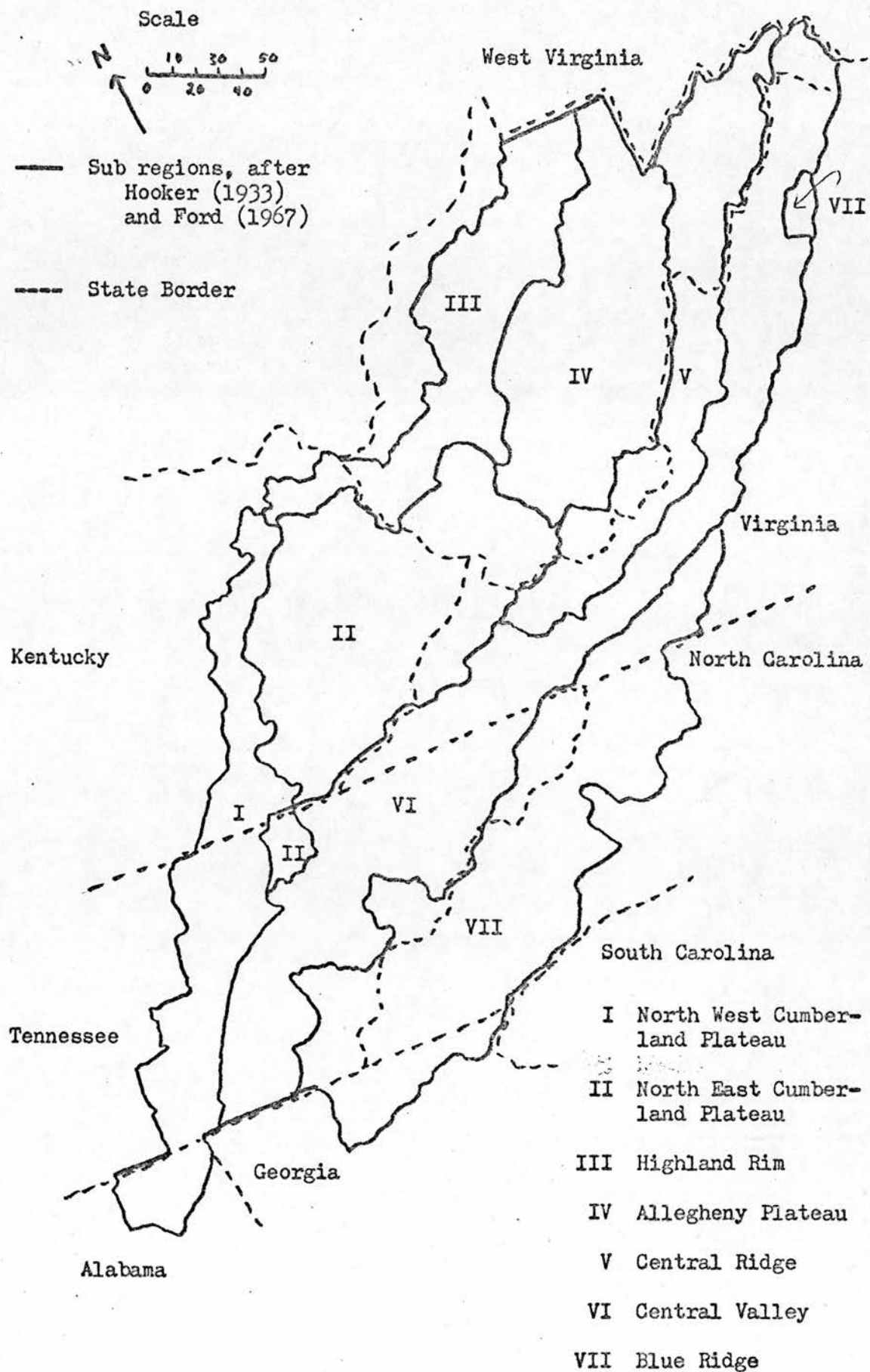


Figure I: The Appalachian Mountains by sub-region

split between the western settlers in Pennsylvania and Virginia in their support of congressional action, the Shawnee and Iroquois were finally defeated in 1794-1795 only because the British did not follow through on their promises to the Indians of support. The Creek Indians living in the Tennessee-Alabama part of the Central Valley were defeated later during the War of 1812 with Britain. In all, eight different treaties were concluded between 1770 and 1838, for the most part these treaties resulted from the defeat of the Indians' white allies in the French and Indian War (1754-1760 in America) and the two wars with Britain.

Thus, bit by bit Indian lands were released for settlement. Expansion of early industries in the Appalachian 'west' was a result largely of the Napoleonic wars and the decrease of imports from Europe. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 meant that New Orleans became the favoured trading center, rather than points to the east (The Appalachian watershed is to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers for the most part.)

The basic issue of the Second Great Awakening, 1795-1835, was of an organisational nature. Religious practices had to be justified by explicit statements in the New Testament, called the "New Dispensation". Innovations in revivalism were two-fold in this period. First, the spiritual revival of an individual was broken down into two stages. The first was one of "awakening", typically by frightening images of eternal hellfire and brimstone.⁽⁵⁾ The second stage was one of "conviction", with special attention in terms of "anxious seats" and "anxious meetings". The development of the "protracted meeting" from

(5) The particular focus on this end result, to be realised after the apocalyptic Day of Judgement, makes one ponder on the relationship between the content of beliefs chosen for stress and the environmental backdrop. Bollinger (1969) surveys all known earthquakes along the New Madrid fault, which underlies the Appalachian-Ozark areas, since 1758. It is curious that the peak periods occur within the Second and Third Great Awakening periods, with the worst - the one that named the fault - in the Second period.

the campmeeting highlighted the division between communion-takers and others. This meeting included a day of prayer and fasting with the Lord's Supper celebrated at the end of an extended series of meetings.

(6) The second innovation was a shift in the contrast between pre-millennial and post-millennial images in terms of salvation for the individual: pre-millennial images concerned man's fate prior to salvation; post-millennial images after salvation.

The new religious practices and individual behaviour enjoined were to make behaviour conform as much as possible to that recorded in the New Dispensation, to Christians, replacing the Old Dispensation given to Jews. The foot-washing rite was included as a sacrament along with full-immersion baptism and the Lord's supper.^(*) Adult conversion becomes the norm in the backcountry as well during this time, atesting to the prevalence of Baptists in these areas. Two other features which are still major characteristics of rural areas in Appalachia arise at this time. In the contest for souls on the frontier, groups possessing a democratic form of church organisation and using non-seminary trained clergy had the advantage. All that was necessary for a man to become a preacher was to receive a "call" to preach and provide evidence of his "gifts".

This democratic church organisation was, and is, susceptible to internal dissension. Whether excommunicated or withdrawing, those

(6) These items are similar to the still-current practices of the Communion Season in the Presbyterian Scottish Islands. Owen (1956) reports on three different groups - one of them the Mainland's Established Church of Scotland - which vary along lines which in the Appalachians have been called "sectarian" and "fundamentalistic" and points out the hostility of these groups to "secular" activities.

^(*) Because of the near universality of full-immersion baptism, Campbell (1969:173-174) in his pre-World War I survey suggested that the "native church" be called the "Immersion church." (see Appendix A)

leaving an established congregation formed an independent church and tried to affiliate with like-minded congregations. These larger bodies were also subject to similar discord.⁽⁷⁾ Because of the restriction of the New Dispensation practices, an anti-mission movement - originally aimed at the Presbyterians⁽⁸⁾ - is also associated with the Second Great Awakening. Apart from not being divinely appointed, missions give strength to a centralised organisation.

In the early nineteenth century, the Appalachian area was influenced by two prevailing tendencies in government. First there was the increasing authority of the Federal Government to intervene in the practical and pressing problems of the western lands in Appalachia. Second, there was the continued concentration of power in the hands of the eastern elites in Virginia and South Carolina. While the settlers did not like either source of control, they were more upset over that exercised by the States. The main complaint in the 1830's concerned the Governor's appointee system viz the County Courts which administered the county's affairs. The County Court then appointed other county offices, rotating the office of Sheriff among the Governor's appointees. There were, in consequence, recurring charges of nepotism, inefficient administration and neglect of the isolated areas.

The County Court issue was complicated by the shift from a general agricultural population in 1776 to industrialised areas developing by 1830. The right to vote resided in property ownership

(7) These organisations have polity parallels with the Federal Confederation of 1781-1789 after the Revolutionary War (replaced by the current Federal State) and in the Southern Confederacy of 1861-1865.

(8) The Presbyterians have two Home Missions fields. The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America focuses upon the Reservation Indians. The Presbyterian Church, United States focuses upon the Appalachian Whites.

so that disenfranchisement was becoming common. Argument ensued over whether suffrage was a natural right or merely a conventional one.

Conservatives, the Eastern Establishment in this case, argued that enfranchisement of the propertyless would undermine government and perhaps even lead to revolution - France was often cited as the example.

(9) Without question however, all knew the balance of power would shift westward if enfranchisement was extended. Secession was muted in western Virginia and Tennessee already in 1829. Compromise on suffrage was reached to stave off this even. No changes were made in the County Court appointee system, however, the root cause of the suffrage issue.

When the Civil War broke out barely a generation later, the Appalachian Regions remained loyal to the Union. Only West Virginia was able to successfully carry through secession to form a separate State during the war itself, in 1863. The other mountainous sections (in Tennessee, North and South Carolinas, Alabama and Georgia) of the States which formed the Confederacy were a continuing security problem throughout the War, 1861-1865. Kentucky remained neutral. These mountainous areas not only raised troops for the North, for the most part with a few exceptions in Kentucky and West Virginia, but harboured deserters who terrorised the local countryside. The Appalachian regions had not been prepared for the war since always before disputes had been settled by compromise in Congress. There had been no prece-

(9) Related to this propertyless aspect was the problem of literacy. Although the first settlers were literate, the more or less continuous battle for economic and physical survival over a century is attributed as a key factor for the development of the attitude by the majority of the mountain population that "booklearning" was not necessary. Hence the probable source of the evidence used by Turner in his famous frontier theory of the decline of civilisation in frontier areas which was in turn used as evidence by Toynbee in his assessment of Appalachia as "the only regressed white barbarians" (1934:309-313).

dent to expect otherwise.

The Appalachian Regions' congressional representatives remained spectators to the debating participants, the North and the South. While the population was southern in origin, the region's economic and social organisation was similar to that of the North. The slavery question tipped the balance in support of the North.⁽¹⁰⁾ The location of the mountainous area was crucial to both sides as it constituted a knife edge into each territory, depending upon who held it. The Confederates were the first to see, and use, the possibilities militarily afforded by the mountains. They invaded the North twice via this route, in 1861 and 1863. The North responded in kind to the constant fear of attack (Washington, D.C. is on the edge of the northern access to the Central Valley). The 1864 scorched-earth campaigns in Virginia and Georgia were made possible after victorious battles over eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee in 1863 gave the Union access routes into, and through, the mountains to the southern lowlands.

The end of the war brought no cessation of the violence in the hills however. The aftermath for a generation of the Civil War was the development of the notorious Great Feuds. These were extensions of the wartime legacy of disrupted court systems and authority after the return home of supporters from both sides. The Reconstruction Era, the Northern occupation of the South, played no little part in continuing during peacetime the confused state of governmental affairs. The feuds were both most frequent and most renowned in the Northeast

(10) Abraham Lincoln appealed to the nationalistic sentiments while Jefferson Davis appealed to the economic aspects of the slavery issue. Lincoln did make diplomatic use of the slavery issue - to keep Britain from siding with the South and breaking the Northern Blockade in exchange for cotton, thus forcing Britain to turn to the East for this commodity.

Cumberland Plateau and the Blue Ridge.

In general, the Reconstruction Era made the South a "frontier" again. This frontier outlook was dominant by 1900 when the transition back to home-rule was complete. The Civil War effected an abrupt transition from an agricultural economy, just beginning to feel the stratification strains of emerging industries, to incorporation within an industrial economy controlled by outsiders elsewhere. The stresses and strains of the 1900's laissez-faire economic situation in the South would largely be cited as part of the legacy left by the Northern "carpet-baggers" rather than seen as part of the industrialising process itself. This created the southern negative reaction to twentieth-century unionising in the textile mills (unsuccessful still) and the coal mines (successful only after bloody battles were waged⁽¹¹⁾). The County Court system again became an issue; this time in terms of whether the northern or southern faction in each mountain county gained ultimate control.

Despite the feuds and fights over Country Court control, the timber and mineral resources were surveyed and increasingly extracted. In West Virginia, the legacy of Virginia's early chaotic land policy was disastrous. Virginia had allowed purchasers of land-tracts to locate these before actual surveys were made. This was chaotic even without the additional problem of mountainous lands - which constituted the bulk of the lands involved. As people chose to settle where titles were secure, much land was left under absentee ownership. This inherited system eventually became the basis for the economic exploita-

(11) The Battle of Blair Mountain even saw the mineowners side dropping home-made bombs from airplanes upon marching minors. (See "Mother Jones", People's Appalachia, 1970, Vol 1(3):6-13; Caudill 1963: Parts 3 and 4; Bethell 1972)

tion of the coal, minerals, and timber in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. This was refined by the development of the short and broad form deeds for the purchase of coal and mineral rights from resident owners. The short form deed allowed only rights to the immediate minerals and the right to mine surface deposits; the broad form deed in addition allowed the purchaser the usufruct of the land as well in order to get to the underground deposits. This land situation, even before it was refined, no doubt had some bearing on the mobility legendary for settlers in this frontier and on the problem of the continuance of "pioneer farming" even after settlement was established. (12)

The Third Great Awakening, 1875-1915, coincided with the growth of small towns. After 1890, chauvinism became mixed in with revivalistic preaching. This Great Awakening coincides with the shift from an anti-colonial to an imperialistic foreign policy (the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the later takeover of the Panama Canal).

(12) The eastern Cumberland Plateau "knob country" is barely adequate even for this type of farming, i.e. swidden agriculture. During the settlement period there was a contrast between the "settler" and the so-called "pioneer farmer". The former is self-explanatory, the latter is not. Often this "pioneer" is called a temporary settler. In part this is accurate. His mode of farming is not just related to the frontier situation however. It also has similarities with shifting agriculture. The contrast here is that the "pioneer farmer" was not restricted to a set territory in which to establish a nomadic circuit, but he continued to move westward from some 200 years before the land frontier finally disappeared. He lived primarily by hunting, grazing livestock over the natural vegetation available, and by a limited cultivation of maize and garden vegetables only to subsistence needs. As this "farmer" sought only the usufruct of the land, he did not trouble himself with deeds, merely moving on when the natural bounties began to diminish. This "farmer" did little to improve either buildings or land. The early Allegheny population was highly mobile with estimates of $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the early population settling in this fashion.

The advantages of maize on the frontier were several. Wheat was not usually productive in the first few years after the land was cleared and long remained a ash crop along with rye, oats, buckwheat and hemp. Maize could be planted in fields not entirely clear of stumps, only the hoe being required for its cultivation. It could be ground

Anti-communism was routinely included after 1917. This anti-communistic stance was not a new one however, only the mixture within revivalism was new. During this Great Awakening, the distinction between pre-and post-millennial images shifts from the individual's salvation-state to the state-of-the-world. This stance constitutes the major distinction between "fundamentalists", or the so-called sectarians and the "modernists" or the so-called established churches of the social gospel. The fundamentalists have basically a pre-millennial stance whereby the focal point is the Coming of Christ; only the saved will live eternally with Christ in Heaven. The modernists have a post-millennial stance where the Word has been manifest and needs only to be acknowledged. Revivals in this third period are used not to convey pietistic fervor of millennial hope to individuals but to perform the routine function of maintaining a steady rate of church growth.

Innovations concerned the development of the White Gospel Spirituals, shift of focus back to the Old Testament, in particular the portions which can be interpreted as precursors of the Book of Revelations and the moral prescriptions. Sundays Schools are established as "missions" to the unchurched in the community not as socialisation means for the children of church-members only as is the case

into meal easily by simple devices. It could be prepared in a variety of ways. It fitted into an agricultural system based on cattle and hog raising. Transformed into whiskey, it was an easily transported cash crop. In addition, there was on the frontier little inclination to specialise in animal husbandry until a shift from open-fields foraging to fenced grazing was required. Hog-raisers continued the custom of foraging on mast and were generally the poorer strata of the community seeing restrictions on grazing as discriminatory legislation. As early as 1840, there were declarations that, with some exceptions, in the mountainous areas, husbandry and cultivation were still rudimentary. The effect of the political and economic events affecting settlement and the mode of agriculture cannot be underestimated (Rice 1970:153-163;170). Boserup (1972) discusses the dynamics involved in a change from this type of extensive agriculture to intensive agriculture.

for middle-class and elite churches.

New denominations were created in this Awakening. These were part of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements which began in general after 1870, spreading to the mountains only after 1900, as a reaction against formalism in religion. Usually converts were drawn from established groups, both sectarian and established churches rather than from the unchurched in a community. Extreme denominational competition was the usual outcome after one of these sporadic revival episodes. Washington (1973:64,80-81) discussing the influence of white religious movements on black christian groups, stresses especially the urban context of the perfectionist development into permanent sects for the poor whether black or white. He notes also that the South is more the territory of the traditional Independent Sects than the natural homeland of the perfectionist movements.

Revivalism in the Third Great Awakening was a systematic part not only of the "red scare" but of the laws to restrict immigration, the renaissance of the KKK, and the general antiliberal tone of the 1920's. Legislative and jural inroads have been made since in all these areas. As an independent movement, revivalism was reduced to a ritualistic mass commitment to a social conformity in terms of "the American way of life", according to McLoughlin. He attributes this outcome to evangelists using too many arguments to justify their theology which subsequently became more a rag-bag of rationalisation than a genuine challenge to a christian commitment. None of the revivalists after 1865 were able to reconcile the "old-time" religion with the fundamental changes in American social and intellectual thought.

The World War I-wartime industries brought prosperity to many Appalachian sub-regions and the shift to village and town residence began (having become the most prevalent settlement pattern for the

United States as a whole by the 1910 census). In comparison with other rural areas, in 1930, the Appalachian region had increased population by two-thirds since 1900. While increasing momentum since World War II, the transition to urbanised life is still not complete although the population growth rate is now no different than the national average.

To summarise at this point we note McLoughlin's explanation (1959:7) of the religious activity during the Great Awakenings. The ethnic heterogeneity of the Pre-Revolutionary population in the frontier areas and the early acceptance of tolerance of religious dissent in the back country by the Virginia authorities in order to encourage settlement as a buffer between the civilised East and the Indians on the west provide the background for a theological re-orientation within the churches viz neo-Calvinism and Arminianism. The ecclesiastical conflicts associated with this re-organisation concerned primarily the opposition between centralised hierarchy control and local congregational control. Later there was a sense of social and spiritual cleavage within the church as well as between the church and the world flowing from pietistic dissatisfaction with the prevailing formalism of religion, especially in the urban area.

Southern tradition of religion. Two overwhelming aspects characteristic of the frontier period of the Second Great Awakening persist in the Southern highlands. These are the blurring of doctrinal differences among dissenting sects and the unifying influence of piety. The blurring of doctrinal differences between groups is positively related to the incidence of doctrinal disputes within these same groups. This piety was as noted among the dour Germans as among any frontier

group.⁽¹³⁾ Simkins notes these aspects as typical of the southern religious pattern in general. Simkins points out (1963:270) that the Southern class-religious pattern is typical of all denominations in the same way:

The region between the Potomac and the Rio Grande has a larger portion of its population in church than any other section of the United States. But about its religious bodies are class distinctions which alarm believers in the brotherhood of man.

This point has been noted by rural sociologists summarising the general tendencies of rural religion before World War II. Kolb and Brunner noted (1935:463) that the density of population tends to be associated with the number of churches; generally, the greater the populations density, the larger the number of churches per 1000. Lynn Smith notes (1947:425-426) in more detail five factors which affect the distribution of rural churches in the USA.

First, the balance between Protestants and Catholics must be discerned as Catholic churches have on average more than double the membership of protestant churches for the white population.

Second, the greater the rivalry among Protestant churches the more rural churches per 1000.

Third, where society is still in the neighbourhood stage, churches will be relatively numerous - this does much to explain the large number of churches to be found in the South relative to the population of the area.

Fourth, where the traditional cultural pattern is deeply rooted and maintained, as in the South, churches tend to be relatively numerous.

And fifth, biracial composition and cultural diversity where each foreign-language group maintains services in its native tongue have much to do with increasing the number of churches per 1000.

(13) For analysis of a current pietistic christian group, see John Barnes (1971:1-17), "The Righthand and Lefthand Kingdoms of God: A Dilemma of Pietistic Politics" in Beidelman, ed, The Translation of Culture, London: Tavistock Pub. This group in Norway exhibits many of the features noted as "fundamentalistic" in the Appalachian context.

The last four factors stress the fact that the incidence of churches in the South is actually greater than expected by Kolb and Brunner's generalisation for the United States as a whole. Items two, three and four pertain largely to the mountain region; items three, four and five pertain largely to the lowland region of the South.

The characteristics of religion in the highlands are as follows; according to Hooker (1933:43-44):

- 1) an emphasis on the [religious] authority as being the words of the Bible,
- 2) a tendency away from centralised denominational authority, (14),
- 3) a preoccupation with the issues between determinism and freedom of the Will,
- 4) a tendency to belong to no specific denominational group but to groupings of like-doctrines of faith at the local-level,
- 5) a tendency to center religious interest on doctrinal disputes,
- 6) the convention of footwashing (15),
- 7) the general custom of a handshake-all-round after the preaching
- 8) the custom of yearly protracted meetings, and
- 9) universal acceptance of an explosive type of conversion as the normal form of religious experience.

(14) This is still true of the established denomination of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., also called Southern Presbyterians. The dialogue with the United Presbyterian Church, USA, the merged northern and western denominations, over merger still stumbles over the form of polity: General Assembly recommendations with local congregational ratification versus General Assembly decisions binding on all congregations automatically. In the former polity, dissenting congregations may form an influential faction; in the latter, a dissenting congregation is excommunicated. A recent split in the southern denomination with liberals gaining control has not changed this polity difference - the congregational autonomy form is still the preferred polity. (personal communication, Dr. Gwen K. Neville, 1975)

(15) In a survey a generation earlier, Campbell noted (1969:174) that this rite was performed by some primitive denominations, but not by others.

Hooker also makes a distinction between the "primitive denominations" and the "perfectionist denominations". The former are those groups established during the Second Great Awakening; the latter are those groups established during the Third Great Awakening. Both are denominations which include religious ecstasy as a major religious feature.

Lynn Smith points out (1947:426-427) two principle items of the rural church programmes over the United States which are in specific contrast with urban churches. The first of these is that preaching constitutes the main item of the church programme. When the preacher is non-resident, there may be little else. Where the circuit system still prevails, services may not be available every Sunday. Second, the Sunday School is the most elemental part of the rural church, so much so that such is frequently maintained even in localities where there is no regular preaching service.

In Figure II we summarise the traditional and typical religious features as documented by Hooker (1933) in her survey of six Appalachian sub-regions (all but the Highland Rim sub-region, see map above pg 8). This figure is tabulated from the explicit remarks made by Hooker throughout her discussion. We have organised the items by rites, polity, activities and preaching. (We must mention here that our Highland Rim sub-region is adjacent to the NorthEast Cumberland Plateau and the Allegheny Plateau sub-regions and thus one would expect to have features typical of both these adjacent regions.⁽¹⁶⁾)

(16) We found in 1970 that the decoration is present in the Highland Rim (an NECP item), that revivals are held along with a circuit ministry (minus salary however) (these are AP items), we found union meetings (an NECP item). Sunday Schools, often synonymous with Bible Schools, are increasingly established. There are visiting, some youth and women's groups and prayer meetings.

*	Sub-regions**					
	NECP	NWCP	BR	AP	CR	CV
Rites:						
Communion	+	+	+	+	+	+
Baptism	+	+	+	+	+	+
Foot-washing	+		isolated	rare		
Polity:						
Congregational	+	+		+		
Union meetings	+				+	
Centralised				+		+
Community co-operation					+	+
Interdenominational co-operation in town						+
Activities:						
Revivals	-	+		+		
Sunday School	-		neigh- borhood		+	
Bible School						+
"Visiting"			+			
Youth group			valley			+
♀ group			valley			+
Prayer meeting			+			
Decoration day	+					
Preaching:						
Traditional topics	+	+	+	+	-	+
Monthly meetings	+	+	hill	+	+	+
Rhythmic style	+					hill
Circuit ministry	-		hill	salary	+	
Seminary clergy					+	

Figure II: Religious Traditions after Hooker's highlands survey

* Blank spaces refer to lack of explicit comment on presence or absence of item as noted by Hooker.

**See Appendix I

Hooker's survey (1933) provides a valuable base-line for the comparison with later regional surveys on religion. However, the Brewer report (Ford 1967) is concerned primarily with church membership. In addition, most of his information is based on attitude questionnaires. So comparison in terms of actual rited, polity, congregation activities, and preaching cannot be done. In figure III below, we show the

		Sub-regions ⁽¹⁷⁾													
		NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N (county per region)		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
		29		18		15		35		15		14		40	
-30%		19	65	7	40	3	19	-		-		2	14	2	6
30-49%		9	31	8	43	10	67	8	23	10	67	9	64	19	47
50+%		1	3	3	17	2	12	27	77	5	33	3	21	19	47

Figure III: % Church Members, 1957, (from Ford (1967) figure 61) in a county

Appalachian survey statistic on church membership, broken down into Hooker's sub-regions so that the only comparison available can be made. There is a rough correspondance between the information between figures II and III as follows: the sub-regions with low church membership are also the regions with the rites, polity, and activities Hooker noted as typical of the primitive and perfectionist denominations. These include items Lynn Smith noted as general rural features especially prominent in the South.

Brewer's low church membership statistic seems to contradict the view that the Highlands in particular is a very religiously-oriented place. Reliance on adult conversion is a partial explana-

(17) In the Ford survey (1967), this information is coded county-by-county. We have grouped these counties in terms of Hooker's sub-regions. There are ten sub-regions in total for the Appalachians, she covered six in her 1933 survey. We have added the Highland Rim since this is the locale of our field study. See Appendix I for details. In 1933 the rank order of sub-regions from least prosperous and most isolated to most prosperous and least isolated clustered as follows: NECP, NWCP; BR, AP; CR, CV. In terms of the 1967 Ford survey, adding the HR the clustering is as follows: NECP, NWCP; AP, BR, CR, HR; CV. The rank order of BR and AP is reversed and the CR did not keep up with developments in the CV.

tion (This process is considered in some detail in Chapter IV, Section IV: Rites of Passage). Simkins draws attention (1963:90) to the existence of what Jarvie meant by a "religion-oriented" culture:

Whether or not it fits with American ideals of democracy, climbing the social ladder by way of the church is as dynamic a force in Southern life as getting ahead through money, education or claims to aristocracy. If a Southern church were to become democratic enough in cultural and social standards to capture that one fourth of the people who are unchurched, it would be faced with the peril of perishing for lack of elevating ideals to which its members could aspire.

Most importantly for the analysis of religious practices, Simkins contrasts (1963:94) the difference between the South and the standard "middle-class" reference of the United States as a whole. (18)

Southern churches in ritual and doctrine pursue tactics in important respects opposite to those of Fifth Avenue. The New York churches practice a ritual often as old as the middle ages and a doctrine as modern as Charles Darwin and Thomas Huxley. The Southern churches, except in a few cities and university centers, follow a ritual in harmony with modern American practices and a doctrine as old as that of the seventeenth century.

An important reason for the proliferation of churches in the South is given by Simkins (1963:97) focusing upon a value of egalitarian interpersonal relationships:

The Southerner of all classes has never been willing to bow to his betters. He therefore does not want to be thrown in church with those who do not wish to associate with him in a free and easy fashion....So, without formal decree to its effect, certain social types became members of the Episcopal Church; other types join the Presbyterian,

(18) Professor Bryan Wilson (1966) provides a holistic comparison of the religious context in England and America. The overall contrast is between a State Church with Sects (England) and a multiplicity of Denominations when no State Church exists (America). Wilson's focus is primarily on the differing adaptations these two religious systems have made to the Secular Society in which the religious institutions are incorporated. However, in many ways, his discussion of the English context is more appropriate for understanding the Southern USA context even though there is a multiplicity of denominations than is the overall discussion of American religious practices at the national level.

Methodist, Baptist, and Primitivist church bodies. What are the social distinctions that bring about these denominational differences is hard to say, but everyone who knows the South knows that these differences exist. These separations are not only interdenominational but exist within the denominations.

Figure IV (below) shows the proliferation of denominations for time-periods, 1916 and 1933. These are contrasted with the current entire United States picture. Besides the increase of denominations generally

*

	Campbell	Hooker	Meade
Date of Source data	1916(in 1969)	1933	1970
Area covered	Appalachian	Appalachian	Whole USA
Total denominations	42	98	242
Total primitive	15	18	13
Total perfectionist	0	15	26**
Total			
Baptist	9	11	27
Methodist	5	9	22
Presbyterian	5	7	10
Luthern/German	8	15	27

Figure IV: Denominational Proliferation

* These totals concern only denominationally organised bodies.

**This does not include those perfectionist denominations developing from primitive denominations

between 1916 and 1933, it can be seen that no perfectionist bodies existed in 1916. It can also be seen that since 1933 the number of primitive denominations has declined - these are exclusively of Appalachian origin. The perfectionist bodies have increased markedly. There is no explanation extant which accounts for the decline of the primitive denominations in comparison to all others.

The Mainstream America vantage point. Berger attempts (1963:131-132)

a functional explanation to account for the geographical co-incidence of the "Black Belt" and the "Bible Belt" in the United States. That is, the general area that practices the Southern Racial System also has the heaviest concentration of ultra-conservative fundamentalist Protestantism. He contends that sociological interpretation of ideological functionality will provide understanding for this co-incidence. Protestant fundamentalism's private concept of morality, he argues, concentrates attention on those areas of conduct irrelevant to the maintenance of the social system. Attention is thus diverted from those areas where ethical inspection would create tensions for the smooth operation of the total social system. Protestant fundamentalism is thus ideologically functional "latently" in maintaining the southern system. He cites only the revival context however for evidence of explicit focus on private matters of sex, drink, dancing, gambling and swearing. His discussion by apt-illustration cannot adequately be extended to the highland South - an area certainly within the Bible Belt but just as certainly an area which did not support the racial system of the lowland South, suffering greatly as a result.

The highland South is the locus instead of Anti-evolutionism. And while the racial system of the South has been modified since Berger's summary discussion (the Civil Rights Act being passed in 1964), the legacy of the Scopes Trial seems as strong as ever.⁽¹⁹⁾ This

(19) "Another case, in which the Tennessee affiliate has filed an amicus brief, is practically a revival of Scopes. The ACLU lost the Scopes case in 1925, and until 1967 the law prohibiting the teaching of evolution was still on the books in Tennessee. In that year the law was changed so that evolution could be taught, but only as a theory, not as fact. Then in 1973 the legislature passed the Genesis Law, which was co-sponsored by a fundamentalist representative. It requires biology textbooks which include the evolution theory and any other theories on the origin of man to give equal emphasis to the Creation. The case is now before the state supreme court, where the ACLU argued that the Genesis law is worse than the old monkey law." Civil Liberties Sept 1975 (#308):5.

legacy even extends to book-burning, fire-bombing and sniping on occasion.⁽²⁰⁾ Berger's functional explanation is pitched at too general a level to adequately cover all of the Bible Belt. The Scopes issue has wider implications than can be accounted for even if Berger divides the Bible Belt into two sub-regions; the racial attitudes and evolution attitudes are not of the same order.

This "alien" idea, "evolutionism", an example of "Yankee infidelity" and "European depravity", it was warned was certain to breed "communism". This warning comes, not from the 1950's McCarthy era or even the World War I period, but from 1850 by a Southern Presbyterian educator:

The parties in this conflict [i.e. the North and the South] are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders - they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, jacobins on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground - Christianity and atheism the combatants. (Cash 1973:346-347;100)

Thus it should not have come as a shock to find that a heresy trial rather than a murder trial results from the 1930's mill strike at Gastonia in the Blue Ridge which became a focus of the Communist unionising attempt (Pope 1942).

Violence has long been associated with the highlands, as our brief historical sketch indicates. One of the monograph reports to be discussed in more detail in Chapter V, Matthews (1965), provides explanation for the violence endemic in her community by analysis of the social system in terms of conflicting values concerning egalitarianism and ambition. Her functional explanation of interpersonal interaction parallels the points Simkins made concerning egalitarianism

(20) See Paul Cowan, The Village Voice, 9 Dec. 1974, "A Fight Over America's Future" concerning the textbook controversy in Kanawha County, West Virginia - the capital county of the State.

institutionalised within the stratified southern system in terms of class-linked religious groups. Matthews' functional explanation adequately accounts for the anti-evolution stance, as well as the outbreaks of interpersonal violence in her local community. Whatever the origin of these values of egalitarianism and ambition, their existence together, it seems indicates a pan-scale status quo of conflict between two societal models.

It seems that a Christian Model, specifically that of the early-christian-centuries of the Primitive Church, opposes a Model of Progress which is one of the guises that evolutionism (including social mobility ambition) can take. This Primitive Christian Model, especially when correlated with stress on an individual's free will in religious matters, can neither exist nor persist, without an Other to oppose. During the Reformation Era that other was variously catholicism or astrology. In the American frontier, where anabaptist type groups became established, the Other became the World. The nineteenth-century ideas of Progress related not only to the world which is under the jurisdiction of Satan but to a world which diverged more and more from the Primitive Christian Model of society. This opposition underlies both the "revivalism" and "fundamentalism" phenomenon. Explanation must reflect the underlying aspects.

The authors of a recent religious survey (Photiadis and Maurer 1973 & 1974) of West Virginia (the State in which our field study is located) are puzzled by the combination in some of their respondents of persons who are religious strong-believers, in terms of the survey items, yet do not attend church. These authors are also puzzled by the existence within one denomination of congregations they distinguish in their survey as sectarian and non-sectarian (Groups of this type, according to Campbell & Hooker, are prevalent in the Allegheny Plateau

subregion - exclusively located within West Virginia). Their survey was not just restricted to religious attitudes however; attitudes toward achievement, progress, education and welfare, perception of health, and degree of alienation were included. Photiadis and Maurer state that when socio-economic status is controlled for, the differences in terms of conservative attitudes between sectarian and non-sectarian respondents disappears. They note that the more religious a non-sectarian respondent is, the more this respondent tends to behave as sectarian. Along with socio-economic status, community size is a crucial variable. They found that communities with populations between 5,000 and 15,000 are the most conservative.⁽²¹⁾

In like manner, with a general Appalachian survey on fertility and fundamentalism attitudes, DeJong (1970) is puzzled that his metropolitan sub-sample shows fundamentalism significantly correlated to more fertility items than the rural sub-sample, the grouping he expected to be the most conservative. (Three morality items and three doctrinal items were used in his measure of fundamentalism - making a crude index.) Like Photiadis and Maurer, DeJong is concerned with attitudes only. Neither report relates these to actual behaviour. Some of the differences these two reports attempt to explain can be understood better in terms of the actual situation of the different

(21) John Rex finds it odd that Daniel Bell sees the Protestant Ethic in its American form as associated, not with large-scale capitalist enterprises, but with small town life which emphasizes the virtues of work, sobriety, frugality, and sexual restraint (1 April 1976:299, *The Trend of Ideology, New Society*). This should not be so odd, Trevor-Roper (1967) pointed out that Weber's correlation was based primarily upon the "diaspora calvinism" of the Spanish Empire during 1550-1620, not calvinism per se (There were, in fact, four diaspora entrepreneurial groups in this context: Flemings, Southern Germans, Northern Italians, and Spanish Jews). He calls attention too, to the contrast between anabaptist workers and their more liberal calvinist employers. The former established themselves in the Appalachians - not the latter.

sub-regions in the mountains in terms of technological complexity, affluence, physician ratios, etc (See Appendix A) rather than attitudes interpreted as fundamentalism.

Billings criticises (1974) Ford's characterisation (1967:9-34) of an Appalachian provincial sub-culture which accounts for the poverty of the region, with a North Carolina survey relating attitudes to behaviour. Billings is interested in comparing middle-class aspirations with actual social mobility achievement. Dividing his sample into three sub-regions (rural mountain, urban piedmont, and rural coastal) he shows that the relationship between these attitudes and behaviour is complex. For respondents of all regions, urban experience is more important for actual achievement of social mobility than is attitude. And, when actual achievement is held constant by age cohort, the mountain sub-region shows lower aspiration attitudes than the piedmont region even where actual middle-class achievement is equivalent. He suggests that explanation of poverty in the mountains should look to social and economic history for explanation, than to culture or psychology.

Anabaptist, or primitive churches, depend on membership recruited by adult conversion. If the predominant religious orientation of the rural areas is traditionally upon such adult conversion and if all local groups are in the same tradition, then there is no difficulty in understanding the paradox that strong-believers do not attend church - these persons may be the unconverted. The modesty of mobility aspirations can be traced, perhaps, to the conflicting stress on egalitarianism in interpersonal relationships versus individual ambition.

We have found in our area that people who identified themselves as /fundamentalists/⁽²²⁾ were referring specifically to whether there

was New Dispensation scriptural support for behaviour. We anticipated that church members in this area would be a prime audience for the occasional televised "Billy Graham Crusade". We were most surprised to find that this was not the case. He was not from their religious group so they could not be sure of the soundness of his doctrines. The revival for our group is only one social setting where religion can be sought (see Section II below). This predominantly rural church group is suspicious of evangelists who are not members of their Association, as the regional group in which the congregations are subsumed is called. The use by the "Billy Graham Crusade" of public address systems, instrumental music accompaniment, and above all, television was all too /progressive/. This term is a contrast term to fundamentalist. (Both stances are however within what is called "fundamentalism" by outsiders.) These two words applied not only to the fundamental contrast of literal scriptural precedent for behaviour or organisation versus incorporation of /Worldly/ things, ideas, behaviour because this is how Satan tempts man and leads him away from God but to specific conflict groupings currently active within the Association as well.

When these respondents said they were fundamentalists it was with reference to the basis of authority rather than specifically items per se. The specific moralisms and beliefs usually encoded in indices of "fundamentalism" are merely derived from this stance. As the New Testament has contradictions within it, the specific items chosen by different groups will vary. The fundamentalism indices will only

(22) These slashed linguistics brackets are used to distinguish the local respondents terminology as emic terms. This is especially necessary where English is both the respondents' language as well as the medium with which sociological-anthropological classifications are made.

measure the most prevalent specific items in an area. Because of the coupling with revivalism and sectarianism, and nought else, existing explanation of religious behaviour in the Appalachians is not able to adequately account for the actual situation where the crucial status is whether one is saved or not rather than whether one believes in specific items indicating "fundamentalism". The relationship of this status to the various attitudes has not been done. Only the saved or the church-member has to live up to the moral prescriptions enjoined in the Primitive Christian Model of society. The active opposition to the Model of Progress, i.e. evolutionism in any form, is also to be expected, as Worsley implies (1970:299):

The source of morality and, therefore, its requirements of man are other-worldly. Man's primary relationship is to God, not to man; the latter relationship is quite irrelevant, or, at best, secondary and derivative. (...what one might call rational or 'moral' religions - which insist that one must act out the implications of belief in one's relations with one's fellow men - tend to become embroiled in the partisan conflicts of this earth, and cannot, like transcendental religions, appeal to all and rise above the secular political battle.)

There is a difference in the moral implications for fundamentalism and modernism (i.e. the stance with stress on the social gospel), the contrast most often made between sectarian and non-sectarian groups by theologians and sociologists of religion.

The stress on egalitarianism and the existence of a stratified social system, it seems, is a major factor in the proliferation of religious groups in the South at least. Billings' survey, and Matthews study, point out, for the highland region, the value positively valued publically, is the stress on egalitarianism, not personal ambition. Matthews notes not only violence resulting from the discrepancy between these two values but witchcraft accusations as well. Billings notes that lower aspirations are verbalised even when there

is evidence for actual mobility achievement.

The Model of Progress however appears to be gaining at the expense of the Primitive Christian Model. In Figure IV above, this type of denomination has decreased since 1933 for the United States as a whole. This is the only denominational type declining apparently. Independent revivalism has also declined. McLoughlin gives (1959:445) eight "failures" of revivalism to account for this demise. There is

- 1) the failure to reach the masses,
- 2) the failure to halt the spread of secularism,
- 3) the failure to rejuvenate the church's spirit,
- 4) the failure to re-establish the clergy's influence,
- 5) the failure to defeat the "modernism" heresy,
- 6) the failure to evangelise the world,
- 7) the failure to stem the tide of science worship,
- 8) the failure to re-enthroned the ideals of small-town codes of ethics.

If the Primitive Christian Model is declining in the advance of the Model of Progress, what is happening to fundamentalism? Because there are both religious belief items and morality behaviour items combined in indices of fundamentalism and because no distinction is made between primitive and perfectionist denominations, the relationship between fundamentalism and primitive denominations can be expected to be disguised. If the fundamentalism indices are broken down to distinguish between the religious and the morality items, it may well be that the correlation with conservatism often noted has to do with the latter items, not the former. There may also be a change in terms of specific religious fundamental belief items are associated with conservatism when primitive and perfectionist denominations are contrasted. In any case, these breakdowns have not been attempted.

Our concern is with the primitive denominations and their decline. We found in our study that the fundamentalist and progressivist opposition cross-cut the three local-level congregations (see Chapter IV), as well as existing within the regional Association (see Chapter III), of one of these congregations. It seems that these conflict groupings are a crucial aspect in the four religious crises this regional Association has undergone since 1870; three of which have occurred since 1940. At this point let us turn to the definition of religion used in this study.

SECTION II

Definition of Religion and its Analysis

In our field context, the word /religion/ was not used in isolation, but was always qualified. Sometimes referred to as /true religion/, it was always specified as that /old-time religion/. In addition, this phrase was often noted in the context of /have you got that old-time religion?/, or /you've got to get that old-time religion before you can be saved/.

In reply to questions on both what the old-time religion is and where one goes to get it, we were referred consistently to the following social situations besides the /church meeting/: the /cemetery homecoming/, the /church homecoming/, the /revival meeting/, and the /association meeting/. Our three local-level congregations focus on adult conversion, thereby stressing the individual's free will. The onus is on the individual to seek out the places where /God's message of salvation/ can be heard. One of the three local-level congrega-

tions also includes the /funeral/ in the above list of social situations relevant for getting religion of the old-time variety.

The common item we noted for the five social contexts of religion was /preaching/. Preaching is done within the institution of the sermon and is contrasted with /teaching/. The contrast between these two terms concerns prophecy. Preaching indicates prophecy; teaching does not. An example of a sermon exhibiting the difference between these two styles is given in Appendix C. This sermon message was roughly one hour in length. The initial, final, and one intermediate passage of this transcript (from taped recording) is in the preaching style. This is denoted by a very fast-paced speech, punctuated by verbal pause-breakers - in this case, /uh/, in other cases, /huh/. These pause-breakers also break up the flow of speech so that the overall impact is of phrases and clauses. When contradiction in the statements is noticed between the talking and preaching portions, priority is given to the preaching statement, by respondents, because this is /God talking to us with man's voice/. The talking portion is man's own opinion of what the Bible means whereas the preaching is /God telling you what He wants you to see in the Bible/.

The preaching portion is also visible in the behaviour of the /pastor/, /evangelist/, /bishop/, /elder/ - all of these are labels by which the /preacher/ may be called and on some occasions addressed. The preacher paces back and forth behind the pulpit, in front of the pulpit, around the pulpit, up and down the aisles, often holding the temple area of his head as though in pain, he works up a sweat and heavy breathing. He doubles over, sometimes jumps, claps his hands - all the while speaking faster and faster. Sometimes this behaviour comes late in the sermon, sometimes very soon after the beginning, and sometimes not at all. When it comes, it is very often referred to,

for examples, /I can feel the presence of the Lord with us today/, or /The Spirit of God is filling our church-house today, I'm so happy/. In the sermon noted above, at several points the preacher shouts /halleluia/ and /whoo/.

The content of the prophecy as evidenced by a preacher in possession, we have called apocalyptic. For initial evidence, we must look again at the sermon in Appendix C. There are three references to "John" (line 11, pg 281; line 41, pg 294; line 55, pg 294). This John is furthered identified as /John the Revelator/ who is credited with writing the Book of Revelations in the New Testament. The person credited with establishing this church group is John the Revelator.⁽²³⁾ The scriptural passages chosen for interpretation come from the Book of Revelations. In sermons, Biblical references are distributed roughly as follows: 1/2 from Revelations, 1/3 from the rest of the New Testament, and 1/6 from the Old Testament.⁽²⁴⁾

The five social situations within the common aspect of preaching

Context	Inter-denominational Co-operation	Attendance Limited
Cemetery Homecoming	+	+
Church Homecoming	-	+
Association Meeting	-	+
Church Meeting	-	-
Revival Meeting	-	-

Figure V: Contexts for Religion

(23) Verbal communication from the /New Jerusalem Association/ History Committee.

(24) This breakdown was also noted for a long poem setting the Bible into four-line rimed couplets which was written by an 88 year old woman in this community over a fifteen year period when she /sat up with/ relatives who were dying.

can be distinguished by two criteria thus forming three classes of situations. These two criteria are, inter-denominational co-operation in terms of the religious groups involved and limitations on attendance in terms of kinship and religious affiliation. Figure V shows how these two criteria form three groupings of contexts where religion is to be found. Attendance for the cemetery homecoming is limited by kinship affiliation. The number, or incidence, of denominational co-operation at this worship service depends upon the religious affiliation of the families who tend the cemetery. The church homecoming and association meeting are not contexts for inter-denominational co-operation. If this occurs, there is a matter of deviance involved. We will take up this matter in Chapter IV which is an extended case study of one of our three local-level congregations. The affiliation by which attendance is limited for these two contexts is membership in a congregation belonging to the regional association. Kinship links to congregation members is also relevant for the church homecoming. It is less relevant for the association meeting though possible. The church meeting and revival meeting also do not usually tolerate inter-denominational co-operation among religious officiates for these worship services. These services are also the most accessible; there is no limitation placed on attendance. The three contexts for which attendance is limited are then access situations for persons linked by kinship to other persons in the group concerned. Access for the stranger is more restricted. The question of religion is at the same time a question of religious ecstasy. The bulk of the previous studies of religion in the highlands have given more stress to the ecstatic phenomenon than to the definition of religion of given religious groups.

The Macha Galla of Ethiopia is an example given by I. M. Lewis (1971:150-151) focusing on ecstasy in religion. These Macha People

are a sub-division of the Galla for whom documentation exists that show a change in environment (valley to mountain) with subsequent changes in technology (pastoralism to cultivation), polity (from hierarchy to "big men" competition) and religious type (from non-inspirational to inspirational religion). These broad changes are closely paralleled in the history of the Appalachian settlement which we sketched above. The type of ecstasy which developed among the Macha Galla is what Lewis' calls a Central Possession Religion. The ecstasy phenomenon in the Appalachians however is often analysed in terms of what Lewis' calls Peripheral Possession Cults, or Religions. We have already noted Lewis' oblique reference to this highland region in terms of his comment on the revivalistic movements of the Bible Belt. We have noted as well the general focus on the religious groups in the mountains by sociologists as sectarian, implying a sub-ordinate status viz a church. Descriptions by clergy and southern analysts refer to these groups in terms of denominations (established, primitive, perfectionist) or the indigenous or primitive church.

Lewis distinguished between a Central Possession Religion and a Peripheral Possession Religion as follows. The former, as the classification indicates, occurs as the dominant form, if not the sole form, of a society's religious system. The latter never occurs alone, by definition implying a stratified society of some sort or degree. The sociologists analyse the mountain religion in terms of the whole United States, thus indicate a Peripheral Possession Religion; the clergy and southern analysts analyse the mountain region in terms of the South as a whole or the Mountain Region as a whole. The latter especially indicates a Central Possession Religion. Let us look more closely at these two possession types of ecstatic religion. Central Possession Religions can occur alone or in conjunction with Peripheral

Possession Religions. These latter, however, can occur only in conjunction with a Central Religion of some type.

Peripheral Possession Religions are identified as follows (Lewis 1971:31-32). The spirits possessing human vessels are amoral and primarily afflict women (who are jural minors in traditional society) and/or low status men. Lewis interprets (1971:33) the possession as constituting a gesture of defiance and helplessness by the afflicted who are protesting their political impotence. He points out however (1971:170) that the possession is viewed by those possessed as a religious experience which is a benediction and which is open to all participants.

The content of the Central Possession Religions is more elaborate, involving as it does belief in a moral system. It can be of two types: possession can either be by ancestor spirits or by a more autonomous deity which is not merely a sacralised version of man (1971:34).⁽²⁵⁾ These possession religions persist in societies which are usually composed of small, fluid social units exposed to particularly exacting physical conditions⁽²⁶⁾ or which are conquered communities lying under the yoke of alien oppression (Lewis 1971:35). The possession itself has a more limited currency than that in Peripheral Possession Religions where it is available to all. In the Central Possession Religion it becomes the hallmark of a religious elite, that is it is distinctive of those and restricted to those who are chosen by the God and personally commissioned by Him to exercise divine authority among men. Possession thus becomes the idiom in which men compete for power

(25) There may be dieties - the restriction here is an artificial effect of the English language.

(26) This includes population pressure (Lewis 1971:175-176).

and/or authority, consequently there are always more aspirants than positions to be filled. There must accordingly exist methods of authentication or for establishing discredit. At this point, witchcraft accusations and possession-as-illness-explanations are brought into play. While both are strategies of mystical assault, witchcraft accusations (or sorcery) is direct, possession is indirect (Lewis 1971:118). Witchcraft accusations are directed to equals or by superiors to sub-ordinates; possession is used by sub-ordinates to press claims on their superiors (Lewis 1971:120). If possession is a bid for attention, then witchcraft accusations provide a countervailing strategy to keep such claims for attention in check (Lewis 1971:122). When the Central Possession and Peripheral Possession Religions occur together, dualistic cosmologies are found (Lewis 1971:172-173). Where two alternative and mutually exclusive theories of possession exist (divine possession and demonic intrusion), Lewis notes (1971:170-171), the ascertainment requirements for both authenticity and discrediting of a specific possession event are minimally satisfied.

Authenticity of possession is assessed variously. Usually, if the victim is from the upper strata, the initial experience may be either a valid indication of divine approval or a hostile intrusion by a malevolent peripheral spirit. Diagnosis ultimately reflects public opinion. If the victim enjoys wide local support, a religious career can begin. If the victim is classified a sinner, the complaint can be seen as a judgement imposed by the central morality but executed by the evil peripheral spirit (since the victim is not protected). If the victim is morally blameless, the condition can be seen as a malicious act of spirit-induced witchcraft perpetrated by a low-class shaman and exorcism is prescribed as the appropriate treatment. If the victim is from the lower strata, the second interpretation involv-

ing peripheral spirits is again selected but the ensuing treatment is designed not to expel the possessing agency so much as to domesticate it.

This is the main sketch provided by Lewis of the two possession types of religion. Just as Lewis noted the change from a non-inspiration to a central possession religion for the Macha Galla after they settled in a mountainous region, he noted a change from Central Possession to Peripheral Possession Religion for the Tonga resulting from acculturation (1971:142-143). In both the Valley Tonga (the more isolated and conservative) and the Plateau Tonga (the more acculturated and progressive) there existed Central and Peripheral Possession. The masabe cult for both was restricted to women. Among the Plateau Tonga this cult has been virtually abandoned. It still exists among the Valley Tonga. The Central Possession Religion, basungu, formerly restricted to men, is now a women's cult among the Valley Tonga and the degradation of the former main religion has been even more attenuated among the Plateau Tonga even for women. Thus from an original central position, the basungu cult becomes peripheral among the Valley Tonga being added to an existing women's peripheral cult; among the Plateau Tonga it replaces the women's peripheral cult.

The primitive denominations we know to be declining in the Appalachians, and by extension, for the whole United States. Pope's analysis of Gastonia in the Blue Ridge (1942) mentions the differential distribution in the county of the primitive and perfectionist denominations. The primitive denominations were in the rural part of the county; the perfectionist denominations were in the town along with the established denominations. Because of the growth of the mill industry, and the influx of workers, the perfectionist groups were more numerous than the primitive denominations, which however were the

original groups in the county with religious ecstasy, Pope's study highlights to a greater degree than any other study on the mountains the oppressive working of a conservative political system at the local small-town and county level in conjunction with specific denominations.

No case study exists for any religious group in the mountains which places stress on religious ecstasy. Yet, the extant analyses assume, and adopt, a peripheral placement for these groups. We have noted the ambiguity which results when it is disregarded that the primitive denominations, originating in the Second Great Awakening in the Southern Appalachians, are correlated with a rural context while the perfectionist denominations, originating in the Third Great Awakening throughout the whole United States, are correlated with the urban (town) context. The existing analyses cannot explain why only the primitive denominations are declining when compared with both perfectionist and established denominations.

The Hypothesis. The question which motivates our research is thus whether the primitive denominations are Peripheral Possession Religions. We suspect that the primitive denomination is a Central Possession Religion. Religious ecstasy appears when the mountainous area forming the early American frontier is settled, similar to the development among the Macha Galla. Perfectionist denominations appear only with the massive shift of population from rural to urban residence. Subsequently, the primitive denominations decline while the perfectionist and established denominations become more numerous, similar to changes noted for the Tonga.

We found in our three local-level congregations (see Chapter II) three different denominational affiliations in 1970-1971. Two were primitive denominations, one was perfectionist. Of the two primitive denominations one had religious ecstasy, one did not; the perfection-

ist denomination had religious ecstasy phenomenon. The perfectionist denomination and the non-ecstatic primitive denomination congregations developed from the ecstatic primitive denomination over the forty years prior to the field study. This seems at root to account for the overall decline of the primitive denominations and the simultaneous increase in perfectionist and established denominations at the statistical level. All that remains is an assessment of the manifest religious ecstasy within our two local-level congregations. This we provide in Chapter II. We continue our evaluation at the regional level focusing particularly on the primitive denomination with ecstatic phenomenon. This is contained in Chapter III. We turn to the relationship between the local and regional levels in Chapter IV. Only at this point is it possible to observe a process by which it may be said that the primitive denominations are declining.

At this point we turn to consider four points in Lewis' review of ecstatic religion which must be clarified in terms of operational criteria for facilitating assessment of the religious phenomena in the field. How is "possession" to be recognised? What is to be called "deprivation"? What is the "alien" oppression? And what is to be deemed "oppression"?

Handelman comments (1972:908) that it is not entirely clear whether the assessment of possession is one made by a given people and extended to other cases by Lewis, or one made by the given people in each case, or one wholly abstracted by Lewis. Lewis specifies that he is interested in the interpretative stance called "possession" and that his definition is based upon that made by the people of the society concerned, whatever may be the interpretation an observer may give to the state of mental dissociation in question (1971:38, 46). Handelman's difficulty seems to be in terms of the distinction Lewis

made between Central and Peripheral rather than in terms of assessment of possession per se. The type distinctions derive from Lewis, the evidence he cites derives from ethnographic studies, i.e., from the given people studied in each case. We have indicated already that our definition is that as given by our respondents. Possession is recognised as preaching.

Criticising Lewis's earlier essay (1966) where it had been stated that deprivation was associated with peripheral possession cults, implying an empirical stance, P. Wilson comments (1967:367) that deprivation implies withholding that which is due. Thus, felt deprivation must be a subjective evaluation of the people concerned. It cannot be that of the observer even when it can be documented that exclusion from other means of redress, especially jural means, exists empirically. This Lewis acknowledged (1967). Thus our ascertainment of "deprivation" is the subjective evaluation of the people concerned whatever the empirical situation which may be noted by an observer.

The determination of an "alien" aspect of the oppressor in Lewis' Central Possession Religion is again a matter of subjective evaluation. Alien implies difference. But how different and by what criteria is a matter of the perceptual perspective of individuals and is therefore independent of the structural context.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have set out our research hypothesis. This is that the primitive denominations distinguished by Hooker (1933) are what Lewis (1971) calls Central Possession Religions. We have dis-

cussed the historical background which has resulted in the analysis of these denominations, along with the denominations distinguished by Hooker as perfectionist, as what Lewis calls Peripheral Possession Cults, or Religions. The restriction of focus by sociologists to the relationship, especially between sectarianism, revivalism, and fundamentalism, is not adequate to explain actual behaviour or the existence of the anti-evolutionism stance so noted for the highlands. We have indicated that holistic analysis at the regional level of the South is more productive. But even this is not totally adequate. Here, however, in order to focus specifically on the phenomenon of religious ecstasy, we have had to restrict our holistic scope to the Southern Highlands Region. At this point it is possible to see the similarities in possession phenomenon between the Appalachians and the Macha Galla. And then, at the holistic level of the South, it is possible to see the similarities with the two Tonga groups. Consequently, it seems possible that Lewis' distinction between Central and Peripheral Possession may be a fruitful beginning point for an explanation as to why only the primitive denominations are declining in the Appalachians and the United States when all other types of denominations are proliferating.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LOCAL-LEVEL SETTING

INTRODUCTION

In the four sections in this chapter we discuss the three local congregations and the local neighbourhood context. This primarily involves the relationship between the kinship system and the congregations. These three neighbourhoods, before 1931, were part of a rural township. Economic and political activities were primarily the concern of the rural township. With the development of the county-wide educational system, many political matters shifted to this larger unit. As a result the residents feel that their property tax money (the property is assessed by county officials) does not come back to them. They cite the fact that the State Bookmobile makes no stop at their local school, that roads do not get properly repaired but only patched during election year, and that county-owned property in their neighbourhoods benefited others when the land was sown in sugar cane for one of the war-on-poverty projects.

Not only is a three-generation kinship system, called a set, found by various ways (analysis of household composition, kinship nomenclature, differences between terms of reference and address, and the definition of incest), but there are also three inter-marrying clusters of these kin units. These inter-marrying sets are linked by single couples and by two kinds of marriage exchanges. The difference in the distribution over the three inter-marrying clusters for the total number of marriages and for the couples who have remained in the area indicates that multiple kin links between sets is a factor in terms of the likelihood that emigration will take place. The remaining couples

show a higher incidence of these links. Also, it is noticeable that it is the lower status couples who leave the community.

These three inter-marrying clusters of sets were observed to be linked to the three local congregations. By analysis of the order of worship, the common rituals, the congregational activities, the preaching style and the sermon focus, it is possible to see how much the three congregations have diverged from each other since the 1940's when the Alum Springs Church left the regional Association in which Banshies' Hollow is still subsumed. The Alum Springs church has changed more than the Copperhead Branch Church which was established in the late 1950's by persons who had left churches which are still subsumed in the regional Association. The rituals remain the same however. This possibly is why many outsiders still view all of these churches as basically of the same order. Within these common rituals, there are internal differences which indicate that this common aspect should not be the determining factor in such classifications.

Section IV concerns the two rites of passage in the local community. One sequence, the funeral and the cemetery homecoming, is the primary concern of the kin groups. The religious aspects in these two rituals are related to the fact that adult conversion is the access route into churches. These are two areas where the religious institution witnesses to the unsaved. Family members already saved, i.e., who are already converted and members of churches are interested in having others from their families in "their" churches. The revival, baptism, and sacrament rites incorporate unsaved into the church only when conversion takes place.

SECTION I

Three Timber Trace Neighbourhoods:

Alum Springs, Copperhead Branch, Banshies' Hollow

Alum Springs, Copperhead Branch and Banshies' Hollow are three neighbourhoods along Timber Trace Creek in Lee district of Patrick County⁽²⁷⁾ which is located in the Highland Rim sub-region of the Southern Appalachian Mountains. Patrick County is an elongated-hexagon shaped territory divided into six magistral districts: Unity, Tecumseh, Sherman, Tyler, Hayes, and Lee (see Figure I). Patrick county has been part of three previous county units established and/or reorganised in 1777, 1789, 1809 with its current boundaries formalised in 1842. The six magistral districts were created when West Virginia seceded from Virginia in 1863 during the Civil War, 1861-1865. The naming of the districts provides clues to the settlement and establishment of the country after 1776. The names reflect especially the Appalachian settlement period (Tecumseh and Tyler) and the Civil War period (Unity, Sherman, Hayes, and Lee). Lee district was a pocket of southern sympathy in a county

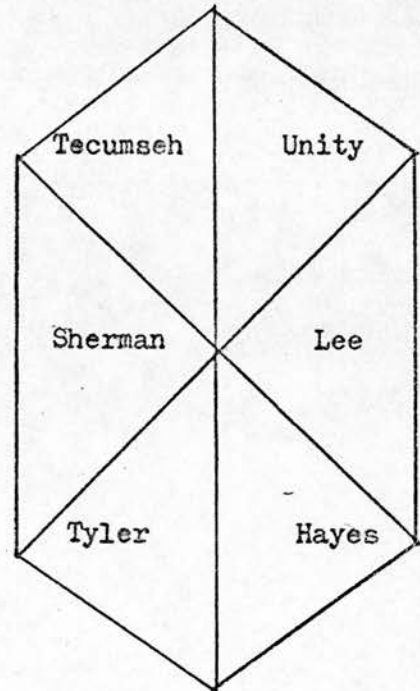


Figure I: Patrick County

(27) The actual county, its district sub-divisions and local names have been changed. Pseudonyms have been created following the local pattern of naming which is reflected in the actual names: descriptions of natural phenomena, Indian words and names, and individual settler's proper names.

and eventually state, otherwise of northern loyalties.

Portions of the main river running through this district were settled in 1789, 1799, and 1802. In 1863 when the magistral districts were created, township divisions within these districts were also created to empower the dispersed households to act as a corporate body especially in regard for the provision of educational facilities at the primary school level. Each township was to have not less than 50 youths of school-age, then defined as 6-21 years of age. These townships as well as all independent town/village systems, were superseded in 1932-33 by the shift of educational responsibility to the county level. While the neighbourhoods are still referred to by the residents though they no longer reflect the local one-room school catchment area, only the oldest residents remember the exact boundaries of these townships. The social consequences of this administrative change are still in the process of resolution. This process is seen by the political activity of the five-man County Board of Education and in the playground interaction at consolidated primary and secondary schools.

Of the 21 different Boards of Education between 1933 and 1970, 12 served one year, 5 served two years consecutively, 3 served three years, and 1 served five years (the bulk of this period during WW II). Each Board of Education is not completely new - never more than two persons new at any one change. The Boards of Education are elected county-wide. Only for an initial period of three years did any of the members come from a magistral district other than Unity, Tecumseh and Sherman, which are increasingly the more populous sections. That initial period included a member from Lee district. The majority (7 of 12) of the one year Boards of Education occur during the 1960's with the second cluster (4 of 12) in the early 1950's. One individual has served 17 years continuously, with many others serving some 10 years at

a time.

While there is a certain amount of continuity of membership composition, there is also a great deal of rotation of offices among the same set of individuals who are appointed to school offices by the Board of Education. This shuffling of positions can be seen especially in the numbers of persons serving as County Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of the School System. Of the 37 years since the county jurisdiction was reorganised, one Superintendent has served a total of 10 years in this office as well as 10 years as Assistant Superintendent (he was 3 times Supt. and 2 times Assist. Supt. in rotation). Others who have served in both capacities have a less dramatic record: one has served 4 years as Supt., 2 years as Assist. Supt.; two have served 3 years as Supt., 1 year as Assist. Over the 37 years there have been nine different Supts., and ten different Assists. (12 years there were two Assistant Superintendents - we must point out that these have not been consistently the last 12 years of the 37 year period). The longest consecutive periods as Assist. Supt. have been served by the two women who have been appointed to this position: ten years in toto. One man has served 8 years consecutively, two have served 6 years, one has served 4 years, three each have served 2 years, four each have served 1 year. In addition, for one year there was no Assist. Supt.

The townships had provided a school per neighbourhood which meant that the typical school was the reknown one-room primary school with pupils of all abilities and ages supervised by one teacher. Prior to the creation of townships, provision of schools was voluntary. Five of the magistral districts had some school established prior to 1863: Sherman district in 1805; Tecumseh in 1813; Unity in 1818; Tyler and Lee in 1820. Hayes had no school until 1868. The Civil War

period marked another difference. Prior to the Civil War, most teachers were men. Afterwards, there began a division of women teachers at primary level and men at secondary level. Until 1899 secondary schools were private academies rather than publicly supported institutions.

For the County as a whole, in 1866 there were 7 log school buildings. By 1868 there were 26 log, and 1 frame, buildings. After this date there is a steady increase of both types of buildings. After 1882 the log buildings begin to be replaced by frame buildings. By 1900 there are no more log schools. In 1919 brick and stone buildings begin to be built in increasing numbers. The number of frame buildings, which usually indicate the smaller schools, fluctuates during the years 1895 and 1933, gradually increasing from 117 to 163. Between 1933 and 1942 there is a rapid decrease from 163 to 120. Peak construction years were 1892, 1922 and 1925. Even before the county superseded the townships, consolidation of these one-room schools had begun.

Figures IIa and IIb show the closing of one-room and 2-4 room schools since the county system was created in the 1930's. Figure IIa

District	1930	1940	1950	1960	N
Tecumseh	6	4	3	1	14
Unity	11	6	6	4	27
Tyler	4	5	10	3	22
Lee	4	3	11	4	22
Sherman	4	6	21	12	43
Hayes	4	-	4	9	17
Totals	33	21	45	31	145

Figure IIa: One-Room Schools closed by Decade

shows the closing of one-room schools and Fig. IIb shows the two-four



room schools closed by decade. As these schools were closed, consolidated schools of five-plus rooms were built. These larger schools

District	1930	1940	1950	1960	N
Tecumseh	3	1	1	4	9
Unity	2	-	1	1	4
Tyler	4	4	3	3	14
Lee	2	3	2	4	11
Sherman	10	4	7	5	26
Hayes(*)	1	1	1	6	9
Totals	22	13	15	23	73

Figure IIb: Two-Four Room Schools closed by Decade

(*) The one such school remaining in the county is in this district.

were established near the denser population areas, located primarily in Unity, Tecumseh and Sherman districts. The establishment of

District	1930	1940	1950	1960	N
Tecumseh	4	-	2	-	6
Unity	2	-	-	1	3
Tyler	1	-	1	-	2
Lee	-	1	1	-	2
Sherman	-	1	1	2	4
Hayes	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	7	2	5	3	17

Figure IIc: Creation of Five-plus Room Schools by Decade

secondary schools repeats this relative population distribution with three located in Tecumseh (established 1899, 1916, 1934), one each in Unity (1921), Tyler (1949) and Sherman (1931).

Usually for a period after a school is consolidated, or enlarged, playground fights between children from the different, or additional, neighbourhoods are common. As children who have never been in any

other school begin attending, the fights decline in frequency. This period is estimated to take between 5-6 years by the several teachers with experience in newly consolidated primary schools. County-wide statistics do not exist for this conflict aspect across neighbourhoods. The problems viewed as significant by the county- and state-level administrators are absenteeism and drop-outs⁽²⁸⁾ for which records are available.

To what extent policy decisions favour Tecumseh district above that expected on the basis of population concentration we are not able to report. However, it was observed, and residents remarked in addition, that the State Bookmobile always travelled from one rural primary school to another in a nearby village by-passing the local rural primary school in the field neighbourhood area. Thus the parents of children at this school felt obliged to create a local library to compensate for this oversight/neglect by the authorities. Also, it was remarked that the County Board of Education's published annual report on the county schools ceased to indicate after 1956 the certification standard of the teacher. This year marked the State's policy change to no longer hire teachers without a college B.A. degree. While sub-standard certificates were decreasing rapidly in the 1950's (to replace the "some-college" training established as standard in 1933), it was noticeable that such teachers remaining were allocated to the rural areas and the less populous districts, so much so for Sherman district that the secondary school established in the late 1940's still is not accredited by the standards review board which pays regular visits to

(28) The drop-out problem is aggravated by the fact that the legal school-leaving age is below that of the number of years required before a diploma can be awarded which indicates successful completion of work over the secondary subjects studied.

the county.

On a short revisit in the winter of 1974, the parents association of Sherman district had begun militant action against the County Board of Education to keep the new principal who sided with the parents on many issues rather than following the county board policies. As well, impeachment proceedings were being called for against the Board of Education for misuse of public funds. A preacher from the New Jerusalem Association was one of two persons who ran for, and were elected, to the County Board of Education to replace the persons who resigned in this situation. On a short revisit in the summer of 1975, these two persons had also resigned and the original board members were back in office. The preacher and the other person who was elected at the same time had been subjected to the impeachment proceedings by the very persons who had resigned initially and who had been in office when the charge of misuse of funds occurred.

The magistral districts, with the removal of educational jurisdiction, remain mainly polling districts for elections at all levels: county, state, federal. The only election which directly pertains to the district is that of the districts' two rural constables. A case report⁽²⁹⁾ on one of the constables of this district, who has been on both sides of the "law", documents routine political practices of the recent past. Some now-retired politicians boast of these practices concerning the political scene of the pre-WW II era of county politics when establishing the county-wide Board of Education. Property in the Lee district which was owned by the county was used for various purposes during the War on Poverty, 1965-68. One plot in the Bانشies'

(29) "Hillbilly Constable" by Ralph J. Turner, unpublished manuscript, Marshall University Dept. of Journalism, Huntington, W. Va.

Hollow area was planted in sugar cane and looked after by poor persons eligible for the programme. The programme was to make molasses for sale. Teenagers in the local area however intervened since the poor who were tending the /cane patch/ were not the local neighbourhood's poor but those of other neighbourhoods. These youth placed various signs along the local backroads (/This way to poverty cane patch/) and in the cane field (/Poverty cane patch/ and /Your taxes at work/). Consequently, the poor working in the field abandoned the work. Locals were not however assigned as replacement workers so the field was allowed to grow up in weeds. During the field study period, the /your taxes at work/ sign was still prominent though very much faded. By the first revisit however, it had disappeared.

The neighbourhoods of our field study were not settled much before the present century. In-migration was associated with the expansion of agriculture. Out-migration which began in the late 1920's has been associated with the shift from an agricultural subsistence base to an industrial one. At its source, Timber Trace Creek forms a valley between Bramble and Meadowtop Ridges, see Figure III overleaf. The names of the creeks and ridges (some of which are also neighbourhood names and location names for specific households) reflect some of the past industry in the region: coal and timber. These however are no longer viable and all industrial work is now outside the neighbourhoods which remain only as residential settlements.⁽³⁰⁾ The dispersed open-countryside settlement pattern can be readily seen, not only by regarding dwellings, but the location of stores, schools and churches as well. Prior to WW II, second class post offices were also located

(30) In February 1976 however, a new coal mine has been opened subsequent to the establishment of federal policy which favours national self-sufficiency in energy resources.

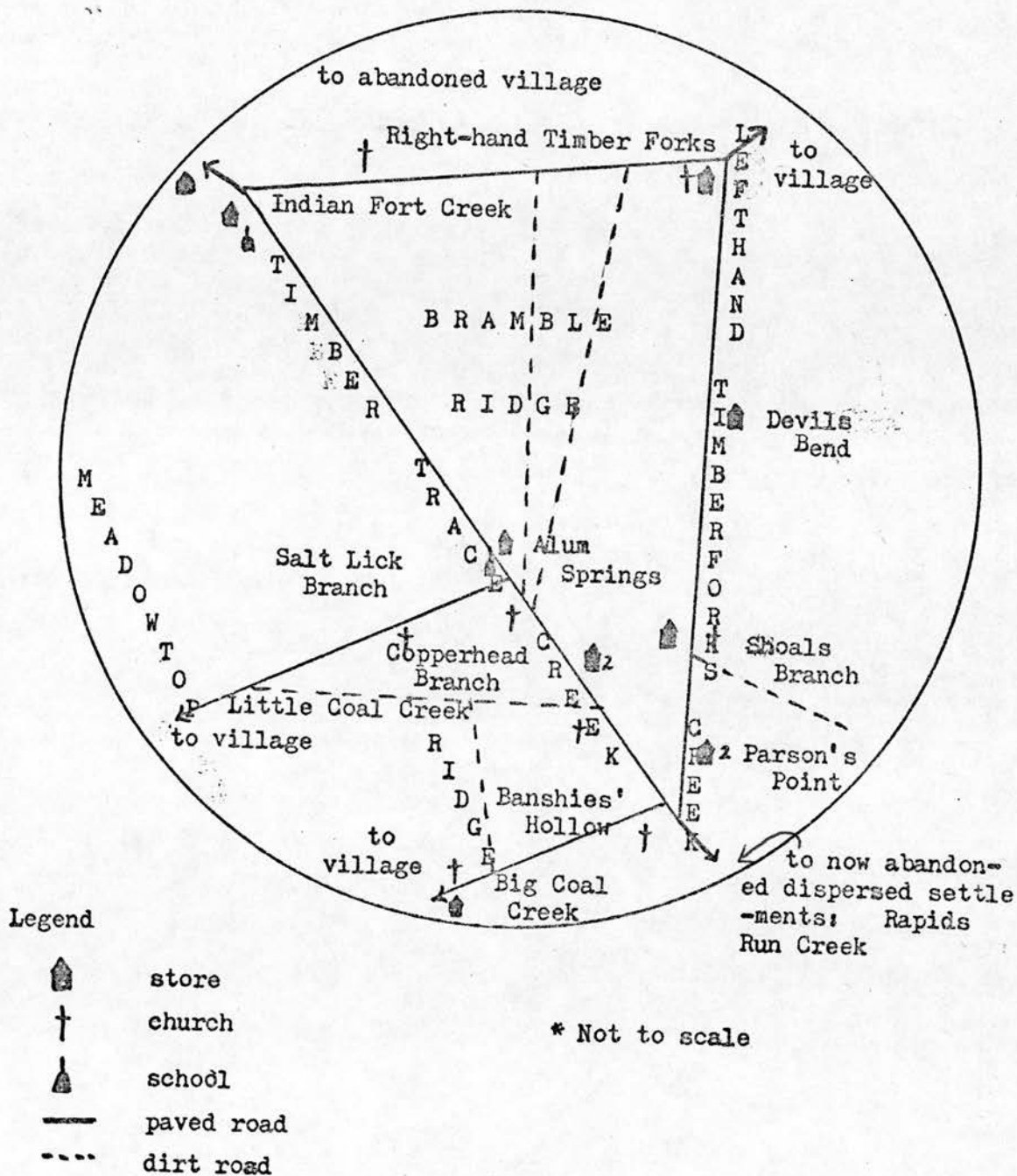


Figure III*

Three Bramble Ridge Neighbourhoods on Timber Trace Creek

at cross-roads areas in the open countryside.

We have noted the stores, churches, and schools along this triangular route which circumscribes Bramble Ridge. This route is roughly a 25-mile circuit: 10 miles down Timber Trace Creek, 9 down Left-hand Timber Forks Creek, and 6 along Indian Fort Creek - Right-hand Timber Forks Creek. Churches, stores, and schools are often found in clusters at cross-roads or at the mouth of forks of creeks and branches of creeks. Residences are scattered throughout the countryside along the roads. Before the establishment of roads in the 1920's, houses were normally placed on the ridgetops rather than in the valley next to creeks with the flood hazard. Valley "roads" were often in the creek bed itself, rather than along side where the water was shallow. Otherwise roads went along ridges and only down to a valley at a crossing point. When timbering was still done in a large scale, prior to WW I, the headwaters were often dammed up to build up a force of water which would carry the logs downstream quickly. With the decline of this local industry, because roads were cheaper to build along the valley than over hillsides, the new transportation routes became the reason for shifting dwellings down to the road from the ridges. In the 1950's some of these roads were paved: Timber Trace Creek/Indian Fort Creek and the Left-hand Timber Forks Creek. The main access roads to Timber Trace via Little and Big Coal Creeks were also paved. In the 1960's the portion of Timber Trace from Salt Lick Branch to Banshies' Hollow was paved. All others remain unimproved and some are impassable now by car because of the depth of the ruts made during wet-weather periods. Local cynical comment concerns the possible use of votes in order to force the county to maintain the paving. The poor condition of the roads is cited as evidence that the county considers the area a "safe" voting district. Just before an election,

road crews are out to fill the pot-holes. In non-secured or predictable voting areas the roads are better maintained by the county. The safe areas and the known opposition areas are not so well off in this regard.

Two stores are located at Copperhead Branch and the foot of Parson's Point. Other stores are located at Indian Fort Creek, Salt Lick Branch, Shoals Branch and Left-hand Timber Forks Creek. Some of these stores also have petrol pumps. Taverns are located at Devil's Bend and along the access routes of Big Coal Creek and Timber Trace Creek below Indian Fort Creek. This accounts too for the doubling of stores at the foot of Parson's Point. One is a store only, the other is also a tavern. The doubling of stores at Copperhead Branch is explained similarly. The second store here has a billiards table (which some of the taverns also have) but does not allow the drinking of alcoholic beverages. The prevailing puritan mores can be seen by these differences. It is clearly visible that criticism of many entertainments in addition to drinking exists here. Hence the implied preference for contexts by which to demonstrate one's moral patronage by choice of store. This choice is made for all to see, and remark.

Schools are located at Indian Fort Creek, Salt Lick Branch, and at the mouth of Timber Forks Creek - in three different county-educational systems. There is ample opportunity to compare the education provided at the three schools which affects local attitudes to the county system in which their childrens' school is located. Churches are one of the main places where people from different neighbourhoods meet regularly. There are four denominations represented of the seven churches in the immediate area. Two denominations have only one congregation in the area, these are located at Salt Lick Branch and at Copperhead Branch. The third denomination has two congregations in

the area, located at Alum Springs and Big Coal Creek. The fourth denomination has four congregations, located on Indian Fort Creek, Banshies' Hollow, Shoals Branch, and Right-hand Timber Forks Creek.

The interaction system around Bramble Ridge is linked largely by kinship and religious ties. Other such interaction systems overlap the three neighbourhoods of Alum Springs, Copperhead Branch and Banshies' Hollow. These are along Little Coal Creek, Big Coal Creek, and Rapids Run (now abandoned). These overlapping systems are the result of households being included both in a residential-interaction system and a kinship-interaction system. The named neighbourhoods reflect the residential-interaction system. The larger context verbally distinguished is the catchment area for secondary schools.⁽³¹⁾ There is no verbalisation for the interaction around Bramble Ridge other than to name specifically the neighbourhoods in question. Residential mobility is possible in this area and this is determined by what houses are available, how accessible kin, friends and work-place are, what churches are attended, and what school the children will have to attend.⁽³²⁾ Including the feeder-branches around Bramble Ridge, this area contains some 300-plus households. Our three neighbourhood basic sample includes nearly 80 percent of the residents. We were concerned with three aspects: neighbourhood residence, kinship groups, and religious affiliation. Neighbourhood residence is easiest to document, religious affiliation the most difficult, which we will note in Chapter V.

(31) This distinction is marked by a phrase rather than a word; /what school do-did you attend?/

(32) Between the two periods of visits in 1970 and 1974, six of our 55 sample households had shifted house in this area, only one of whom moved outside the Bramble Ridge area.

The neighbourhood is a definite grouping or sub-grouping of persons living in proximity with each other. It is at the same time a principle of association - and this is how one locates it. König (1968:34) stresses that spatial proximity is not enough to ensure the development of a neighbourhood. This feature has been reported in previous field studies of open-countryside settlements (West/Withers 1945; Littlejohn 1963). Common interests and common status are more important associational aspects than common residence. In those cases where a concrete group is noted, the neighbourhood group is usually organised in a mutual aid relationship (Littlejohn 1963; Arensberg and Kimball 1965).

The principle of neighbourhood association, on the other hand, is seen only under exceptional circumstances and usually under stress. Ordinarily a definite reserve and distance is more usual. As affluence becomes more general and mutual aid less necessary, the collective neighbourliness can be observed to decline. The institutional mutual aid groups are the first to contract. The association principle is thus left to rest on personal choice rather than dependent by necessity on economic considerations. This has been noted for other studies (39) and is likewise part of the past history of the neighbourhoods in this study. The various collective work parties, such as house- and barn-raising, quilt-making and harvesting were effectively over, well before WW I and were reported by the oldest generation for their parents but not for themselves. All that is left are /singings/ which are best considered as a form of religious charity. Singings of White Gospel

(39) With reference to Scots, Welsh, and English Border communities see: Vallee 1954, Williams 1956, Frankenberg 1957, Littlejohn 1963; also with reference to Appalachian and Ozark communities see: West/Withers 1945, Pearsall 1949, Brown 1950, Stephanson 1966, Matthews 1969.

Music in particular are held to raise money for local community residents in need. The entertainment value is the key to the community turnout. This religious charity is aimed at those situations which happen to everyone (like illness) or to natural catastrophes which could happen to anyone (such as flood or fire).

Country-and-Western singing-competition has been used locally by parents as the drawing card to a Carnival held to raise money for the local primary school. The main singing group featured was a local group of youths. Unlike the religious singers, these groups, which may be single individuals, duos, trios, as well as quartets, use banjo, guitar and other musical accompaniment. A few religious singing groups are beginning to use guitar but it is a subject of controversy and it should be noted that these groups including the guitar and banjo are also singing Religious songs in the modern "Hootenany" folk-song style. Many of the country-and-western singing-competitions are held in places which also allow alcoholic beverages and thus are again condemned by church members. The fact that this linkage is not an innate one also means that some groups will take part in competitions which do not allow this drinking aspect, such as the school Carnival mentioned.

The shift away from an agricultural subsistence to a non-agriculturally based subsistence means that such puritan control cannot be easily exercised outside the local neighbourhoods or kinship groups. The shift to industrial work, which means commuting at the least one hour to the work-place, can be seen in Figure IVa. The shift has occurred gradually as the age distribution indicates. Few women work outside the home, a practice which originated during WW II. Figure IVb shows this distribution. A contrast between the two Figure IV's must be noted. With the exception of one woman in services (teaching

in this instance) employment, and the individuals in training programmes, all the women work locally in the district or county-seat. All

Age	Farming/ Seasonal	Heavy in- dustrial	Light in- dustrial	Services	Army	N
Retired/disabled						
85-plus	2(timber)	-	-	-	-	2
58-84	6("/mines)	11	-	-	-	17
Now Employed						
50-62	4	1	1	-	-	6
30-49	-	3	16	2	-	21
19-29	-	-	4	6	17*	27
Unemployed	-	-	1	-	-	1
Totals	12	15	22	8	17	74

Figure IVa: Shift in Subsistence Source

* The field study period was a wartime era (Vietnam) however 15 were in West Germany, 1 in Phillipines, 1 in Vietnam.

of the non-agricultural work done by the men is, or was, outside the district or the county, requiring extensive commuting time (from one

Age	Services	Domestic	In-Training
50-plus	2	-	-
30-49	2	-	-
16-29	3	1	3
Totals	7	1	3

Figure IVb: Source of Income for Women

to two hours each single journey of the trip). All of the men had been outside the study area for work during some period of their life. This indicates that for this study area while access is difficult, it is not as isolated as other communities documented in the Appalachian Region.

Migration from the community can also be seen in Figure IVa. The breakdown by retired, middle-age workers, and youth or young workers shows 19, 27, 28 men in these respective categories. Respondents reported that their children or siblings, went mostly to the East North Central region and the rest scattering not only to the D.C. area, but to California and Florida as well.⁽³⁴⁾

There has also been internal migration, i.e. moving to nearby areas still within the mountain region. If we look at the incidence of surnames from two periods, from secondary school annuals of 1938 and 1968, we have a rough measure⁽³⁵⁾ of this internal migration tradition, see Figure V. This internal to the Appalachian Region aspect of migration has been less stressed in the literature. Campbell noted that 60 percent of the surnames for the region as a whole in 1910 were listed in the first census of 1790 for the same local areas. In terms of

Surname Incidence	1938	N	1968	N
Names on both lists	34%	21	27%	21
Area name but on only one list	48%	27	63%	39
New name but on only one list	18%	11	10%	13
Total		59		73

Figure V: County Surname Incidence from Two Periods

(34) The East North Central area is the USA's mid-West to the immediate north of the Highland Rim sub-region. In Appendix A, we have tabulated the Ford (1967) data concerning migration to this area. This region is a contrast with Figure 12, (the District of Columbia (Figure 11) Migration System) concerning migration to the east coast.

(35) This measure is rough because compulsory secondary school education did not begin until after WW II and because surname does not indicate size of family.

internal Appalachian Region Migration for our local-level neighbourhoods, the three men, aged 30-49, engaged in heavy industry have moved into the study neighbourhoods from the coal-area in the North East Cumberland Plateau where they were born and where they still work.

When we consider the kinship links between households in, and immediately beyond, our three study neighbourhoods our sample of households increases to 90 households. Of these 90 households, by houses, i.e. common residence, 9 are composed of single generation couples, 71 are two-generation families, and 10 are two-plus generation families. Of these 71 two-generation households, 65 are actual nuclear, or primary families, 6 are two-generational, however these also include collateral relatives. In the Section II we describe and discuss the cognatic kinship system typical of this community.

SECTION II

Kinship: /Set/Structure

When we look at the composition of these 90 households in terms of the specific kinship relationships we find a social unit which incorporates the nuclear family unit. Figure Ia shows the household composition. This household composition is broken down by the generation-type analysis of kinship relationship between household members. The result is that the kinship pattern elucidated is an extended-family type of system which has the superficial appearance of a nuclear-family type of system which can be seen in Figure Ib. But is this a real structure or merely a result of economic pooling of resources? Looking particularly at the 16 multiple-generation cases we find that there is

a pooling of resources, but protection from poverty would not seem to be the motive behind such pooling as 6 of these 16 are separately

Number of Generations	N	N	Kinship Relationships
Single	9	4	couple, children reared
		2	couple, newly married
		3	individuals (divorced/ widower)
Two (nuclear family)	65	62	couple, dependent children
		3	couple, aged parent(s)
Three-Four (nuclear family plus others)	16	6	couple, adult children, niece/nephew
		3	couple, children, parents
		2	couple, children, grand- children
		1	couple, spouse's grand- children
		2	siblings & children, parent
		2	couple, (a) child, grand- children & parent (b) children, parents aunt/uncle

Figure Ia: Household Composition

affluent enough not to need to group together economically. Only one of these six has rental property however. That is, five of the six

N	Nuclear Households	N	Extended Households
2	newly married	6	couple, adult children & niece/nephew
62	couple, dependent children	2	couple, children, grand- children
4	couple, children reared	1	couple, spouse's grand- children
3	couple, parent(s)	3	couple, children, parent(s)
3	individuals (divorced/ widower)	2	couple, child, grand- children & parent & couple, children, parents & great aunt/uncle
		2	siblings, children & parent
Totals			
74		16	

Figure Ib: Developmental Sequence

pooling resources get their income through their own work and not from secondary sources as is possible for the one case. But this pooling is not total. A basic resource, such as a farm, is pooled whereas the earned income is potentially available as a loan. This pooling is further organised, because of the free-enterprise national system, on a business partner basis. The earned individual income is a capital resource but not otherwise shared.

There is some tension concerning the setting up of a household. This can be seen in the local /Honeymooners Lodge/ which is a small three-room apartment in a store now primarily used as a storage building rather than being in commercial use. It has been primarily used by local newly-weds as their first home which is at the same time near kin. All of the people who are documented as having made use of this apartment have some kinship link to the owner. Couples made use of this apartment on a temporary basis, i.e. until the first child was born. Then they looked elsewhere for lodgings, often moving out of the neighbourhoods for some time. Thus neolocal residence preference seems to be linked initially to a larger extended family system.

If the criteria of frequency of interaction rather than residence is considered as defining the family, the three-generation extended-family can indeed be shown to be the norm. The interaction criteria used is that of daily to twice-weekly contact. The 90 households, visibly separate, now distribute themselves among 17 three-generation clusters incorporating 73 households. The remaining 17 households, many of which are still related in some way to the other 73, are primarily linked to such three-generation clusters in other neighbourhoods beyond the immediate study area. This exact number was not ascertained as it was not feasible to extend the kinship documentation for these 17 households. In general people do not visit neigh-

bours in this locale, they primarily visit kin or very close friends. Other visiting is conducted at stores or at church. Preachers and teenaged boys are the only persons who routinely visit non-kin, that is, people who are beyond the three-generation limit or who are actual non-relatives. The contrast between private and public interaction is thus marked stressing the corporateness of the kinship unit.

These 17 extended clusters have developed, by marriage and fission, from 5 such clusters at the turn of the century - the original settlers; and by in-migration and marriage. Only one of the extended kinship clusters is "new." All but one are indirectly related via marriage links to the eight clusters which can trace a direct link to the original five if we take as the referent ego a male. By cognatic

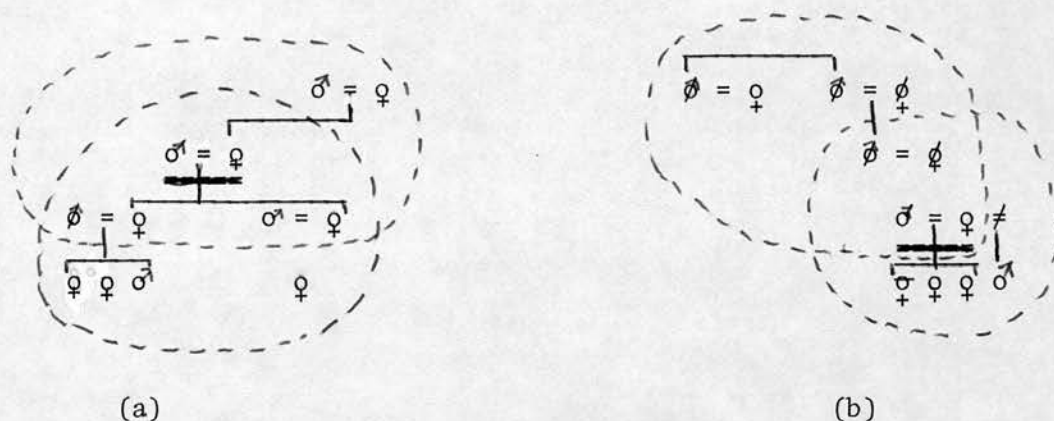


Figure II: Overlapping /sets/

♂, ♀ (sex of individual); = (marriage link); ϕ, ϕ (deceased person)

reckoning, all but one of the extended kin clusters are directly related to the original five. These kinship-clusters are locally called /sets/ (There is also a pejorative term for this unit as well, the /outfit/). In the same way that one can distinguish nuclear families of orientation and procreation noting the common individual in the two nuclear entities, overlapping entities created by marriage also crosscut the /set/ but with much more complicated results since three generations are the basic pattern. This is seen by the examples from Figure

II where the couple who is the household head is underlined. Example b shows that one of the household members is an affine where the consanguineal link is broken through death.

Figure III highlights the importance of affinal links in calculating how persons are related. This diagram represents an exchange between two men who have no consanguineal link between them: /my wife is first cousin to your wife's grandmother, so I reckon we're sort of related/. This diagram shows only the pinpointed three ego's used in

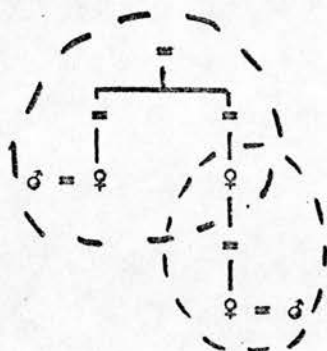


Figure III: /my wife is first cousin to your wife's grandmother/: $m=f\ast aCa-f-a-f=m$ (in the Romney notation)

establishing the link. It shows as well the maximum extent of the set overlap in tracing the consanguineal and affinal kinship links. Terminology is consistent with that noted by Wallace (1970:841-843) specifying that attention be paid to how kinship systems were reckoned by the persons themselves, rather than only through class-product kinship analysis. We have noted the kinship algebra notation to which this extended phrase refers. We will continue to relate these two reckoning systems in this diagrammatic way since it serves to highlight one of the additional problems in eliciting kinship terms in this case situation.

Because of the unfamiliarity of the set cognatic system we need

more evidence to support the structure abstracted and presented thus far. We take four types of evidence to support the social reality of this structure besides the fact that it has a name and the name has referents isolated by household composition analysis. We take three types of evidence which definitely support the reality of this structure, and suggest a fourth additional type. First, there is kinship terminology. Second, there are examples of purported incest. Third, there is the special case of exchange marriages. A fourth possible source of additional evidence, are cemeteries which must be visited on Memorial Day and those which may be visited on the annual Cemetery Homecoming day.

We must note here the reason why we use a kinship algebra notation in relation to the extended phrases used by the residents to pinpoint kinship categories and persons who are in those categories. The usual use of these notational systems is to elucidate the categories only. Our own kinship terminology was understood by the residents before we understood their reference system. This was a result of working from the genealogy charts directly. By contrasting the genealogies collected in terms of any and all relatives known, with the terms of reference which were elicited and the terms of address which were observed, it became possible to understand why some consanguineal relatives were left out of the genealogies.

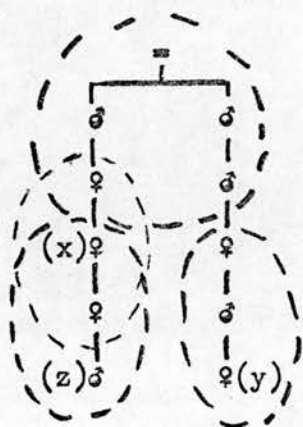
The main difficulty with eliciting kinship terms in this community was the overlap of terms descriptive of lineal relationships and alternative relational descriptions with a shifting ego referent point, i.e. collateral relationships. For an example of the first, $(f-)m+aOa-a-m$ is the notation summary for the following alternative ways of phrasing who the final male in the notation is: /that's Jimmy's first cousin once removed/; /John is my husbands first cousin

once removed/. For an example of the second: /that's one of Jimmy's uncles, only he's not a real uncle/ where the category "uncle" has several referents, $m \neq aOf = m$ and $m \neq aOm$, which is only specifically noted when the conditional adjective is added, "real uncle" which refers to $m \neq aOm$. The distinction between consanguines and affines is rendered by such adjectival qualifiers to two terms which appear to be synonyms: relatives and kin. These qualifiers are /blood relative/ and /real kin/. Differentiation of general terms which group affines and consanguines together can be made by such qualifying adjectives (see Appendix B, for the full listing of kin terms). This would have relevance for the disputes in the literature as to whether affines are kinsmen. For this society, it would seem that the answer is they are not kinsmen but they are relatives.

When working with family tree diagrams people tended to include all the people they knew they were related to by marriage and by birth. When however, the question "which is your family" was put, the group of persons pointed out was sometimes the nuclear family, sometimes the entire three-generation unit specified above, and sometimes the three-generation unit with some nuclear families omitted. When questions specifically about the set were asked, the three-generation unit was forthcoming along with comments about some of the nuclear families who did not come for visits or about some who were not welcome whether they came for visits or not. The relational terms used for other persons on the genealogy charts were in general accord with those elicited when questions about the set itself were asked.

On occasion some kinship links were known well beyond the five generation limit of two over-lapping sets. The local terminology and the southern terminology, both of which are linked to the stereotypic picture of the mountain region, can be demonstrated by a practical

joke played on an outside salesman. Two individuals, who are not "family" in the set meaning of the term yet who were nevertheless distantly related, were linked by the specific degree of relationship.



link re X & Y: 2nd cousin twice removed

f+f+mOm-m-f-m-f

link re Z & Y: 4th cousins

m+f+f+f+mOm-m-f-m-f

Figure IV: Relationship between X and Y

This specificity was given in two alternate forms, one of which was an extension based on the set mode of reckoning, the other based on the southern mode of reckoning. Figure IV shows these two alternative ways of remarking the exact relationship. The local reckoning system noted the relationship through person z: /Y is my grandson's 4th cousin/ where X is the person speaking. This was also phrased as /Y is my 2nd cousin twiced removed/ where X is the person speaking. The overlapping outlines of the sets show that X and Y are not linked directly or indirectly through any set which could be properly so utilised. The only way this might have been done would have been by saying /my mother's first cousin was her father's grandfather/ but this would have meant three linked sets and not two overlapping ones.

The local terminology system relates living persons to each other in the most symmetrical fashion rather than in terms of the closest relationship through some deceased focal ancestor held in common between any two individuals. This is seen by ego in Figure V who gave the local

reckoning system before the more general southern system which places more stress on a focal ancestor. Only the depth of the modes reckoning of these two systems is different. The local system noted here is a shallow depth of an ever shifting three-generation system while

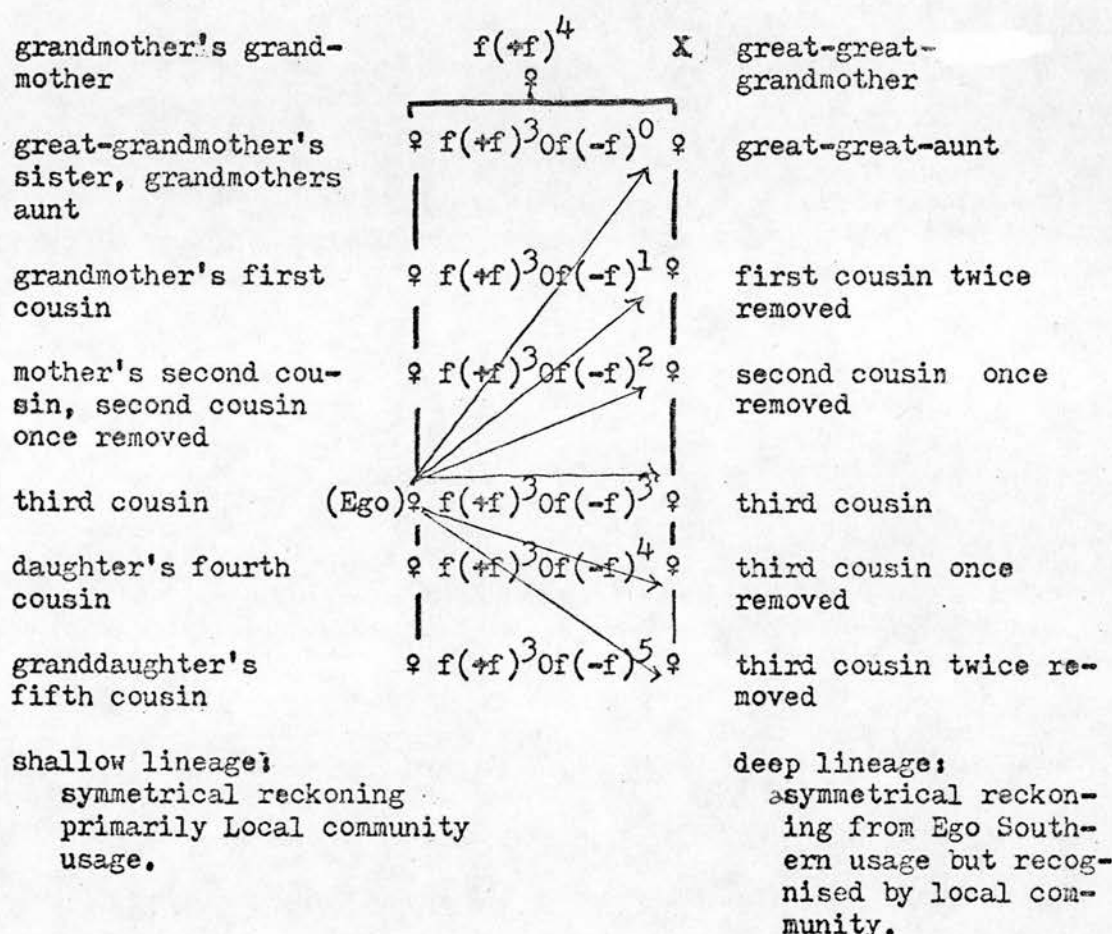


Figure V: Alternative terms for: $f(+f)^3Of(-f)^{0,1,2,3,4,5}$ for X column

the other system can be infinitely extended as long as a link can be traced. Large annual gatherings of anyone with surname A would seem to fit into this deeper depth system. Only one mention of such a gathering was mentioned in this community and it was noted as being a "new" kind of family gathering. (36)

(36) See Millicent Ayoub (1966) "The Family Reunion", *Ethnology* 5:415-433. She distinguishes three types of family reunion (sibling, name,

Three discriminations are possible on the basis of the local kinship terms. The most prominent are those of biology and marriage. That is, a biological link is always noted, or is always possible to distinguish. Marriage relationships are more prominently noticed the closer they are to Ego. It is also possible to highlight or disguise a marriage link as well as a living or deceased link. For example, /former spouse/ is ambiguous since it can refer to a broken marriage link in terms of whether the break is caused by death or by divorce; widow-widower or ex-spouse. The /in-law/ relationship is within the nuclear family limits. In-laws to a family sometimes refer to themselves as /out-laws/ and the in-law relationship is sometimes additionally referred to as /we're friendly enemies/. The terms /man-woman/ and /husband-wife/ focus on the marriage relationship between the couple; the biological link is noted even when there is no social relationship which is judged legitimate. Siblings are specified by the exact biological and social relationship which exists where it is possible to disguise the exact relationship: /real, half-, adopted, step-/ serve as the adjectival qualifiers to the sibling terms. While there is no common term to apply to /niece-nephew/ or /aunt-uncle/ as there is for /1st cousins-once-removed/ there is the same skewed relationship across generations. In this local system there is a preference for calculating kin in terms of symmetrical relationships and through living persons, although calculation only from some focal ancestor is understood.

When we look at the contrast between the terms of reference and the terms of address, we are able to focus on nuclear families and

and cognate) for the mid-west region - a region adjacent to the Highland Rim Appalachian Sub-Region.

individuals excluded from the biological three-generation unit. The problem here is not the extension of the limits of the set but whether or not affines are included. Sometimes they are and sometimes they are not; that is, affines in this local area are always called relatives but they may or may not be family. The linguistic analyses of kinship terminology for various American English kin term systems mainly discuss reference terms since kinship terms themselves are seldom used as address titles. Some of the ambiguity which is discussed in these essays may be due to the fact that the terms no longer have a social referent. There is no way to resolve difficulties of the extension of terms without correlation to the social usage of the terms in question as observed and then discussed.

In our community the kinship terms used as address terms are those to the focal couples; whether they be parents or grandparents. There is one kin term set which may be extended to anyone outside the kinship system; aunt-uncle can be addressed to any person in the first ascending generation (when Ego is adult) or second ascending generation (when Ego is a child). This is not an automatic extension however. We are not able to distinguish the connotative significance of this extension or of the differences within the set of kin terms which are possible for parents or grandparents.

In the attempt to locate the set boundary limits, it was noted that there were some individuals who did not associate with the family they married into. There were few examples of this, but this behaviour could be seen in conjunction with gaps in family trees which were discovered and which might correlate with the fission process of the developmental cycle. This break seems to occur naturally when one of the focal couple dies or when both are infirm and therefore dependent upon their children. But are there cases of such break-offs before

this natural point? It would seem that there are, given the comments about certain nuclear families within the set limits by other members.

In those situations where the parents-in-law were referred to as /my spouse's parent's/ rather than /my parents-in-law/, there was also

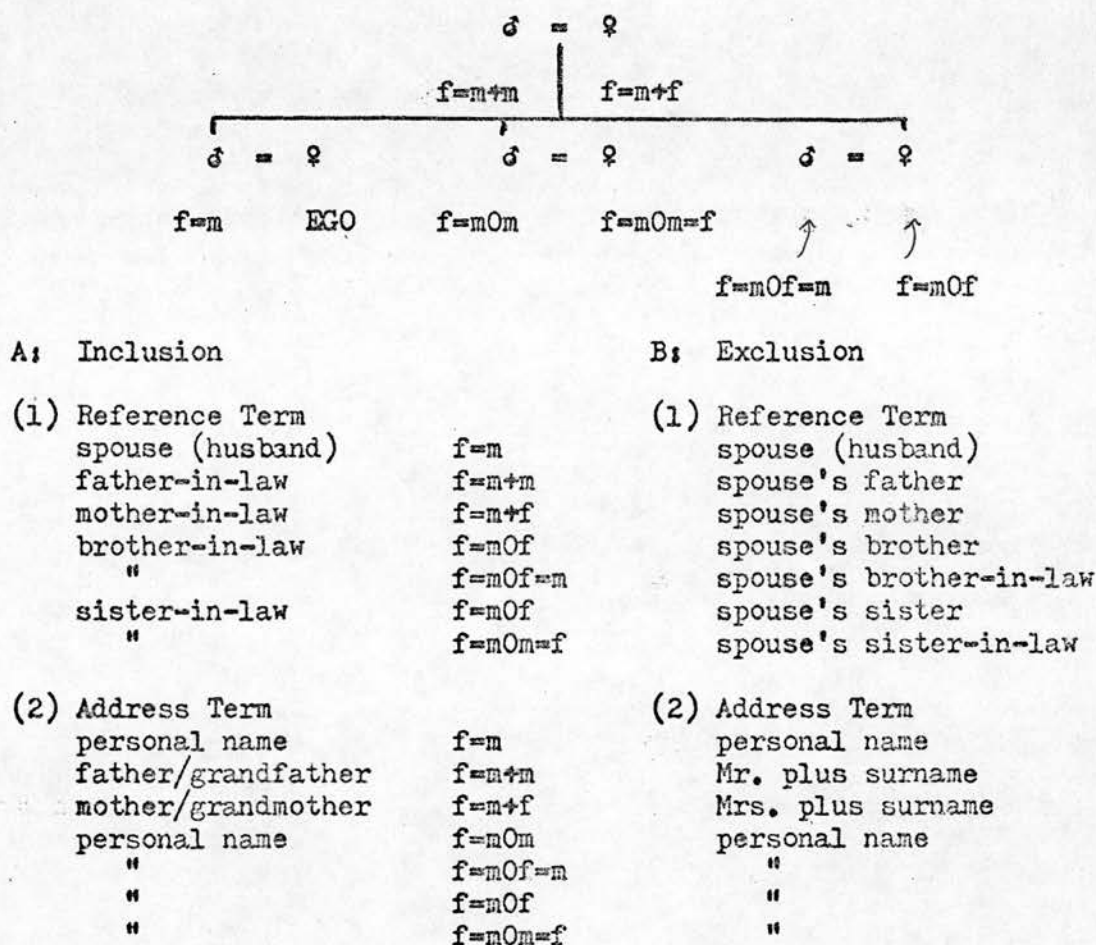


Figure VI: Contrast between Terms of Reference and Address

no inclusion of the persons who married the spouse's siblings as brother- or sister-in-law. There is only one example of this from a woman, the other two examples noted are from men. Given the activity segregation of the sexes in this community, gaining more information of this type among the men was limited to the public settings of inter-action: store and church. Observation even in the home setting depended upon finding the family interacting together in some common

task. There was generally sex segregation even in these private settings which restricted the extent to which many examples of this nature could be observed. Figure VI shows the comparison between these two sets of terminologies, reference and address, in the kinship setting for a case of inclusion and one of exclusion. Both sets of terminologies must be seen in conjunction because in the zero-generation to EGO there is no difference in the address term in the inclusion and exclusion cases. Differentiation is seen only for Ego's parents-in-law. In the reference terminology, there is a visible difference in the two social situations for both the zero-generation and the first ascending generation.

Examples of incest were also elicited and are of relevance in locating the set boundary. Three examples were given. These, though not residing in this community, are known not only here but throughout the county. This is the only check available for assessing purported cases. /Incest/ in this local area has both biological and social aspects. Two of the cases are within the biological nuclear family boundary (father-daughter; half-siblings). The third case is crucial as it occurs outside the biological nuclear family but within the social set boundary (father-in-law - daughter-in-law). This example was given as an example of incest. Further inquiry about this example elicited statements that it was also an example of adultery. This extension of the incest category would indicate that the /set/ limit is seen in this area as a significant kinship boundary.

Of 395 marriages over four generations, subsequent to the initial settlement, there have been 11 examples of sibling exchange marriage involving 26 marriages. The children of a sibling exchange marriage are /double cousins/ to each other, and are said to be as /close as siblings/ to each other. Double cousins have, then, only one set of

grandparents because of the sibling exchange marriage of their parents. The rationale was that they share the same genetic potential. In the case of siblings the ultimate source of the genes is only one generation away. In the case of double cousins this ultimate source is two generations away. This genetic reason was given as the reason for not permitting double cousins to marry each other; it would be the same as marrying a sibling. The double cousin link is within the set limitation. This limitation which also is that concerning of possible marriages in general: 1st cousins, also, whether they stand in relation to each other as double cousin or not, can not marry each other.⁽³⁷⁾

The break-up of these set units seems related to both the normal development of the domestic group and to fission, possibly due to affluence, before the natural break-down which happens at the death of one of the focal couple. It seems that it is possible to maintain a corporate relationship beyond the death of the set's focal couple for individuals who stand in the 1st cousin relationship. That is, sibling exchange marriage is not the only exchange type visible. Good-enough' distinction (1970:46-47) between kin groups in terms of ancestors and those in terms of common kinsmen is relevant here. Of the 395 marriages, there are 3 examples, involving 6 couples, of 1st cousins marrying into the unit we referred to earlier as relatives. Thus individuals who may not marry each other, either because they are the same sex or because they are too closely related biologically, may create an in-law kinship relationship between each other by marrying

(37) See Karl Heider (1969) "Anthropological Models of Incest Laws in the United States", American Anthropologist 71(4):693-701, For a list of all 50 states' restrictions. Also see Bernard Farber (1970), "Heider's 'Anthropological Models of Incest Laws in the United States': A comment", in American Anthropologist 72(4):846-847. There are two Incest Models. One is the Biblical model, mainly restricted to the earliest states established. The second is the Western American model of the frontier. West Virginia conforms to the latter model.

into a still functioning set. It is at this point that discussions of the kindred become relevant. Here we are not concerned with the formation of activity groupings or the calculation of the extension of limits from any ego but with the maintenance of a continuing kinship relationship.

That this is a way to keep a kinship relationship, albeit a different one, we feel, is argued for by the fact that - of the 395 marriages made over four generations, 32 couples have married in this exchange fashion. Of the 32 couples involved in these two types of kinship exchanges (8.0% of the total), 12 have remained in the area (37.5% of the exchange marriages). Including these 32 exchange marriages, there have been 196 marriages between the seventeen sets (49.6% of all marriages). These marriages form 58.4% (62) of the marriages of the 106 couples remaining in the area.

These marriages form three clusters of inter-marrying sets. Cluster A involves five sets; Clusters B and C, six sets each. In Figures VII and VIII, we contrast the distributions of single and exchange marriages within clusters of sets for the total 395 marriages with the

	Total Marriages		Remaining Couples' Marriages	
	N	%	N	%
Cluster A	57	14.4	20	17.2
Cluster B	37	9.8	14	13.2
Cluster C	61	15.4	9	8.4
Exchange endogamous marriages	32	8.0	12	11.2
Total other marriages	206	52.4	51	50.0
Totals	395	100.0	106	100.0

Figure VII: Single Marriages Within Clusters of Sets by Total, and Remaining Couples', Marriages

total 106 remaining couples in the area. Of the total marriages, Cluster C has the greatest incidence of endogamous marriages. In terms of the remaining couples, Cluster A has the greatest incidence of such marriages. The differential impact of out-migration can be seen in the

	Total Marriages		Remaining Couples' Marriages	
	N	%	N	%
Cluster A	5	1.2	5	4.7
Cluster B	10	2.5	4	3.7
Cluster C	17	4.3	3	2.8
Single endogamous marriages	157	39.2	43	38.8
Total other marriages	206	52.4	51	50.0
Totals	395	100.0	106	100.0

Figure VIII: Exchange Marriages Within Clusters of Sets by Total, and Remaining Couples', Marriages

distribution of marriages within sets for all the marriages when compared to these marriages of the remaining couples. While the majority of marriages within sets for the total marriages concerns Cluster C, for the remaining couples resident, these inter-marriages are the most numerous for Cluster A. This is also the case when the exchange marriages are compared for the total and the remaining residents' marriages.

There are, in addition, seven marriages across clusters. Three (2.8%) marriages have occurred between Clusters A and B; four (3.7%) occurred between Clusters B and C. By the 1974 revisit, the one new marriage (0.9% of 107) had taken place between Clusters A and C. The common feature of all eight of these marriages across clusters is that one spouse is illegitimate, i.e., born out of wedlock, and one spouse is a church member. The illegitimate spouse, of either sex, is from the higher status group; the religious spouse, of either sex, is from the

lower status group. The couples are assimilated into the higher status group.

Figure IX shows the incidence of marriages in relation to migration, both in- and out-, and the couples who were in the community in 1970-71. The incidence of these two kinds of exchange marriage for

Generation	Total Marriages	Out- Migration	In- Migration	Total Remain- ing Couples
3rd Ascending	5	-	5	5
2nd Ascending	48	28	-	20
1st Ascending	183	135	1	48
zero	163	118	2	38
1st Descending	1	1	-	-

Figure IX: Marriages in RElation to Migration by Kinship in Generation Position

each generation which exhibited such is as follows: 2nd ascending generation, 10%; 1st ascending generation, 9%; and for zero-generation, 6%. There are no longer any viable couples for the 3rd ascending generation - only 5 individuals. Re-marriages for the 1st ascending generation may still occur and so change their ultimate total. Also, there are still individuals in the zero-generation who have not yet married, so the 6% figure for the exchange marriages may increase or decrease subsequent to the base-line year of 1970-71.

We have noted the tension between a couple and the extended family at various points from divers aspects. How - or does - the couple align itself with a set? Ceremonials are a focal point for additional research here, especially those which conflict by occurring on the same day. Here the cemetery homecomings, the fourth possible item of evidence on the set boundary limit are not usually a problem, but those at Thanksgiving and Christmas are. One couple resolved this at Christmas because one side of the extended families concerned celebrated Old Christmas, the other celebrated New Christmas (6th of

January vrs 25th December). The usual Christmas, however, for this community is the 25th of December and each set of grandparents wants the couple at their home, especially if there are grandchildren. Does the couple decide to always go to one side, or to go alternative years to each, or to go to neither on the occassion days? This kind of situation would be of relevance to the fission process much more directly than the terms of reference and address, but at least these term differences indicate perhaps the crucial couples with which to begin.

Those who seem to be the ones to break out of the local residential set structure most quickly are those who appear to be most successful in terms of visible social mobility. Religious affiliation is an important non-economic aspect here. But, although not economically interdependent with parents and siblings who remain, the break from the set seems to occur by the transition process inherent in the developmental cycle. During summer holidays and family ceremonial occasions (Thanksgiving, Christmas, birthdays of the focal couple, homecomings) those kin who have migrated return for visits. The visits decline in frequency especially when the children are adolescents and create crucial peer ties elsewhere, that is, when the parents begin to perhaps think in terms of the development of their own set in its new locale outside the local neighbourhoods of their origin. The cemeteries attended are those where members of one's set are buried. Attendance is also related to one's position in a functioning set. As one becomes head of a set before the actual demise because of the death of the focal couple, thereby meaning that this fission is symbolised by having one's own cemetery, as one ages the possible number of cemeteries visited increases according to the number and timing of fissions between and within the generations. If one becomes head of a set

only at the demise of the focal couple, there is a strong likelihood that the cemetery is maintained. There are cemeteries with two names as well as those with only one name, even though everyone buried therein is related to many others consanguineally and affinally. The continuity of the new sets created by the passage of time without fission could be highlighted in this dual naming pattern. The passage of time, since Campbell observed deferred cemetery memorial services prior to WW I, would admit of only two shifts of the set having naturally occurred to date.

People often remarked that the young people do not follow the /old ways/ anymore, because they ceased to look after the cemeteries. This abandonment of the older cemeteries may be related to the impact of industrialisation, in relation to emigration and the time of visits home. But it may also be visible evidence of the shifting set boundary over time. Therefore it may not be an example of the abandonment of the old ways but actually be the way the old ways work. The household's ancestors who are paid homage shift as one's position in a given set shifts. While the homage paid by the set becomes part of one's own obligation upon marriage, the extent of the obligation is in terms of the relationship to the survivors who are consanguineally linked to the deceased.

This limitation on the extension of homage obligations is visible in those cases where more than one cemetery is attended over the summer. Thus one's position in a set when one's children die determine the cemetery in which the child will be buried and whether one has one or two cemeteries to attend even for the nuclear family. The cemetery then is another possible manifestation of the establishment of a set and may indicate set break-up by fission or by the natural passing of time. Our data on this point is difficult to sort through because

some respondents noted all the cemeteries which they could attend and some only noted those they did attend. It is clear that a study focusing primarily upon the kinship system would need more refined data on this point in terms of the developmental cycle process in order to distinguish between fission that is the normal process and that which indicates a schism.

Optional choice is often a diagnostic feature of cognatic systems. In addition, to the disregard of gender in kinship termino-

	♂	♀
Oldest	1	1
Middle	3	1
Youngest	1	-

Figure X: /homeplace/ inheritance by sex and kinship position within sibling-set

logy we can see this in terms of inheritance of the /home-place/, in Figure X. There are twelve houses in the study area spoken of as such. Ego's homeplace is where he or she was born and raised. Four of these have been in the family for three generations and three for two generations. The remaining five have been established by the focal couple of the set.

To summarise thus far, we note that there are two notable aspects of the kinship system. The first aspect is the cognatic one in general as seen in the kinship terminology, inheritance of the home-place and the stress on focal couples. The second aspect is the set structure demonstrable from developmental cycle analysis in conjunction with analyses of kinship nomenclature. The kin terms highlight three criteria in addition to generation and sex: marriage link, exact biological link, and living links whether biological or affinal. Exten-

sion of the term incest beyond the biological nuclear family is congruent with the set boundary as is the exclusion or inclusion of affinal relatives indicated by terms of reference with stress on the nuclear family or the set. The three intermarrying clusters of sets which were found are associated with the three local-level congregations. In the next section, we compare and contrast these congregations.

SECTION III

Three Timber Trace /Churches/:

Alum Springs, Banshies' Hollow, and Copperhead Branch

The set clusters, formed by marriages, are associated with the three congregations. This may account for the incidence of sibling exchanges and cousins marrying into the same ego-centered kindred. Marriage isolate A is linked to the Church of God at Alum Springs; marriage isolate B to the Baptist Church of Crist at Banshies' Hollow; and marriage isolate C to the Holiness Chapel at Copperhead Branch. The Alum Springs Church was established in the 1920's, the Banshies' Hollow Church in the mid-1930's and the Copperhead Branch Church in the late 1950's. These churches are located within 10 miles of each other along the main paved road passing through the Bramble Ridge. We shall see that in terms of the various religious similarities and differences, the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches are more similar than are either with the Alum Springs Church. The Alum Springs and Copperhead Branch churches are break-away groups from the larger religious network, the Association, of which the Banshies'

Hollow Church is still a member. The Alum Springs Church broke away as a separate group, along with two other groups with whom they remain in fellowship, in the mid-1930's, a break finalised at the Association level in the mid-1940's. The Copperhead Branch Church was established by an individual who left the larger association and whose congregation is composed also of individuals who have left as individuals and not as a faction.

We will compare these three congregations on four items: order of the worship service; the church rites; the church activities; and the /preaching/ form in conjunction with the sermon focus. The complete tabulation of the rites, congregation activities, the preaching characteristics and the sermon focus given in Figure I. Of the 25 specific items noted, 5 were common to all three churches, 4 were common between the Alum Springs and Banshies' Hollow churches, 9 were common between the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch Churches, 3 were common between the Alum Springs and Copperhead Branch Churches, and 4 items each church differed from the other two. These distinctions are reinforced in the comparison of the similarities and differences between the three churches focusing upon the most important ritual, the sacrament service. In the diagram below, Figure II, we show the relationship between the three churches in terms of the 7 common items (the number in the center of the triangle) in the order of worship which will be discussed below; the 3, 1, and 1 items peculiar to each church (the numbers at the angles of the triangle); and the 2 items common to the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches (the number at the base of the triangle). Even though the sacrament service includes foot-washing and is common to all three, other internal differences indicate that presence (+) of this given

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
1-/cemetery homecoming/	+	+	+
2-/revival meeting/	+	+	+
3-/baptism/-full immersion	+	+	+
4-open /sacrament/	+	+	+
5-/church homecoming/	+	+	-

II: Rituals

6-/visiting/	+	+	+
7-/bible school/	+	-	-
8-/sunday school/	-	+	+
9-/singing school/	-	+	+
10-/christmas play/	-	+	+
11-/youth group/	-	+	-
12-/prayer meeting/	-	+	-

III: Congregation Activities

13-sermon:/teaching/	+	+	-
14- /preaching/	-	+	+
15-prayer:solo	+	-	-
16- unison	-	+	+
17-testimony:/testifying/	-	♂/♀*	♂/♀*
18-possession trance	-	a**	a/b**

*Participants' sex: ♂ - male, ♀ - female

**Associated situation: a - prophecy; b - illness healing

IVa: Possession

19-clergy	♂	♂	♂/♀
20-lay participation: deacon-deaconess	♂	♂/♀	♂/♀
21- member	-	(♂/♀)***	♂/♀

***Indicates special situation during revival

IVb: Participation

22-evolution:creative week	figurative	literal	-
23- Adam/Eve story	"(New Test)"	"(New Test)"	literal (Old Test)
24-millennarian:end of time	vague	specific	vague
25- reign of saints	-	-	+

IVc: General Sermon Focus

Figure I: Summary Presentation of Categories II, III, IV of 25 Items

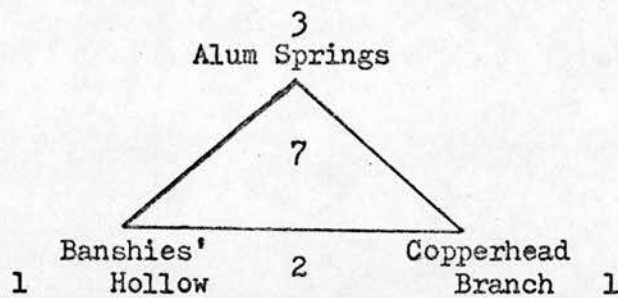


Figure II: Similarities & Differences of Sacrament Service Among the Three Local-Level Churches.

ritual does not mean the same thing to each church.

The order of worship is an internal comparison of the common features of the rituals. Four of the five common items for the three churches are in this category. In Figure IIIa we show the over-all

Item Code	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	*	Copperhead Branch
a-choir	a	a	(a)	a
b-scripture		e	(e)	e
c-sermon			(g)	g
d-choir (congregation)		y	(y)	y
e-handshake	x	z	(z)	z
f-invitational	b	b	(b)	b-c
g-announcements	c	c	(c)	c
i-dismissal prayer	d	d&e	(d&e)	d
x-solo prayer	e			
y-unison prayer	f	f	(f)	f
z-testimony of faith	g			
	i	i	(i)	i
		g		

* indicates the order of worship for the three other churches in the Bramble Ridge area who are in the same association as the Banshies' Hollow Church

Figure IIIa: Order of Worship

pattern of the worship services in each church. This is the basic order of worship for church when there is no special ritual occasion. Comparison of the items in the worship service by the similarities and

differences in their ordering show differences between the churches in terms of relationships between the /saved/ and the /unsaved/, i.e. the

Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
a	a	a
	e	e
		g
x	y	y
	z	z
b	b	b=c
c	c	c
d	d&e	d
e		
f	f	f
g		
i	i	i
	g	

Figure IIIb: Sequence Pattern of Worship Order

crucial prerequisite for membership; and between the sacred and the /world/.

The order of the worship service is very important because though there is much stress on spontaneity of devotional response, i.e. disregarding the order of worship, there is, notwithstanding, a set order for each congregation even though there is no printed order of worship. The printed order of worship is a contrast these church people make with town churches. Actual devotional spontaneity does occur, notwithstanding the conventional order of worship and is publicly tolerated. Comment is made privately, however of the unseemliness of the action and the embarrassment felt for the person so acting.

There are eleven items in the normal routine, noted in Figure IIIb. Eight of these are common to the three churches but differ in the order in which they occur. Two items are common to Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches and one is unique to Alum Springs. The three items, (x) solo prayer and (yz) unison prayer plus testimony of

faith, are mutually exclusive contrast items. This contrast pair is paralleled by and, is consistent with, a difference of theology which we will discuss below in terms of the /preaching/ and sermon focus. The other items are items of difference of sequence and do not have the doctrinal implications which the contrast pair has.

Variations of order between the rites of each church reinforce the publicly stated stress on spontaneity only when all three churches are grouped together as being of the same type - a practice often done in general sociological surveys. Once one becomes familiar with the actual congregational differences at the local-level it is obvious that they are not of the same type other than at a very general level which we will discuss in connection with the Rituals.

In Figure IV is summarised the common rituals between the three churches. Most of these features are taken by outsiders to the region

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
1-cemetery homecoming	+	+	+
2-revival meeting	+	+	+
3-full-immersion baptism	+	+	+
4-open sacrament	+	+	+
5-church homecoming	+	<u>+</u>	+

Figure IV: Common Rituals

as the basis for discussions on the religious practices. The church and cemetery homecoming is usually not included in these discussions, however.

There are gradations between these rituals as to where limitation is placed on who can attend the service. Kinship affiliation limits attendance for the cemetery homecoming; church and kinship affiliation limit attendance for the church homecoming; church member-

ship in good standing (self-determined) limit the attendance for the sacrament. No limitation is placed on who can attend the revival and witness to the baptism rite.

Though there are two homecomings the semantics does not refer to the same type of phenomenon in an isomorphic fashion. The homecoming generally refers to a reunion, or a re-gathering of people. However, the cemetery homecoming, unlike the church homecoming, is a ritual of passage. Another contrast between these two homecomings is that one concerns mainly the kinship unit and the other mainly the religious situation. Both are annual ceremonials. The cemetery homecoming, also known as the /all-day-meetin'-n-dinner-on-the-ground/, is the older of the two. There are two differences between the cemetery homecoming and the regular church service. First, the cemetery memorial is held mid-morning rather than in the evening. Second, the different preachers taking part often belong to different denominational groups whereas this is not typical for the regular worship services. The order of worship will be that of the religious affiliation of the Cemetery Trustees.

Figure V summarises the sacrament order of worship for the three churches. For all three churches, item (f), the invitational, disappears. The Alum Springs Church adds the sacrament service to the sacred sequence (bcd), merely making the sermon (c) shorter than usual. The Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches replace part of the usual sacred sequence (cd) with the sacrament rituals. The Copperhead Branch Church has a healing rite with the laying-on-of-hands before the sacrament is taken. While we never observed a healing service at the Copperhead Branch Church, the pastor of the Banshies' Hollow Church did attend and preached several sermons subsequently against the

Alum Springs Sacrament	Banshies' Hollow Sacrament	reported Copperhead Branch Sacrament
a	a	a
	e	e
		g
x	y	y
	z	z
b	b	b-c
		h
c		
d		
s	s	s
w	w	w
e		
g		
i	i	i
	g	

Figure V: Sacrament Service Order

s - Lord's Supper; w - foot-washing; h - healing

practice citing the laying-on-of-hands as being misused.⁽³⁸⁾ The Copperhead Branch pastor was concerned that we understood that the person being healed was covered with a sheet and not directly touched. Also, that the healing came from God and not himself personally.

The Ordination Service of the New Jerusalem Association within which the Banshies' Hollow, Indian Fort, Shoals Branch, and Timber Forks Creek congregations are subsumed is exactly similar to the Healing Service reported for the Copperhead Branch Church. See Figure VI

(38) This practice is restricted to the Ordination service of the New Jerusalem Association and except for the recipient being a new preacher rather than an individual wanting divine healing these two services are exactly the same. On this point of contrast, we note this issue was important for the church in the 1st century as well. See Maurice Goguel, 1964, The Primitive Church, London: Allen Unwin Ltd. especially "The Imposition of hands" (pg. 337+), "Unction for the sick" (pg. 371+) and "The 2 types of Ministry", i.e. the call versus the apostate (pg. 116+).

below. The explanation of the healing laying-on-of-hands for the two denominations was however different. The Indian Fort Ordination was

Ordination Observed Indian Fort	Sacrament Reported Copperhead Branch
a	a
e	e
g	g
y	y
z	z
b	b-c
o	h
s	s
w	w
i	i

Figure VI: Laying-on-of-Hands Rituals

o - ordination; h - healing

to consecrate by divine action through existing preachers, the new preacher so that he could preach legitimately. The Copperhead Branch Healing Service was to heal by the transmission of divine action through the preacher. The similarity between the Association's Ordination service and the Copperhead Branch Sacrament makes this contrast of a different order than the previous one made between the solo and unison prayer-plus-testimony between the Alum Springs and Banshies' Hollow/Copperhead Branch churches. A different use of apparently the same ritual brings out much more comment, and more intense comment, than two different practices which demonstrate more easily two different things exist.

In Figure VII, we can present only the revival meetings for churches at Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch plus the one observed which was referred to for several months after as the way revivals ought to be conducted. We can notice that the closing congregational choir item (d) is omitted in contrast with the usual

service, that the testimony (z) follows the scripture and sermon (bc) rather than preceeds them, and also that the fellowship handshake (e)

Banshies' Hollow	Banshies' Hollow - 'Ideal'	Copperhead Branch
a	a	a
e	e	e
		g
y	y	y
b	b	b-c
c		c
z	z	z
f	f	f
e	e	e
i	i	i
g	g	

Figure VII: Revival Meeting

follows instead of preceeds the invitational (f). The sermon is shorter than usual and the invitation is expanded.

The social context for which the revival and sacrament rituals are crucial is discussed in the Rites of Passage in the next section. Here we summarise the ritual boundaries of the worship situation. As a result it can be determined that the baptism is not a worship context because it is not bounded by (a), the choir and (i) the dismissal prayer. This rite, too, is discussed in the next section. In summary, then, interval sequence variations can be viewed making local-level differences more starkly apparent.

In general terms (a) the choir made up of any who wish to sing, always occurs initially, (bcd) the scripture sermon and congregation as choir, is a standard unit with congregational variants, with (f,i) the invitational and dismissal prayer occurring at the end of the service. While the (bcd) sequence may be deemed the most important part of the service, it never stands alone. The preliminary prayer

(x) and prayer plus testimony (y&z) and the post-message invitational (f) and dismissal prayer (i) are necessary buffers to demarcate the sacred (bcd) from the profane (the world). Preachers in this community often contrast the /world/ and the /safe haven in the church/. Two items can occur at any place in the service. These are (e) the handshake and (g) the announcements.

The handshake is located in different places in the worship service for the three churches. For Alum Springs, it follows (d) the closing gospel songs sung by the whole congregation as the choir which includes only those saved, i.e. both the congregation and visitors. For Banshies' Hollow the handshake before (y&z), the prayer and testimony includes all, whether saved or not; the handshake during the closing gospel song includes only the saved. For Copperhead Branch the handshake occurs only once, before (g), the announcements, and includes all, both saved and unsaved. At the invitational, (f), the unsaved are invited to come forward as a sign they want the prayer of the church to intercede with the Lord on their behalf. The Copperhead Branch church is indicated in ritual terms as the most inclusive and receptive church; Alum Springs is indicated as the most exclusive church. Banshies' Hollow makes the most explicit stress on the saved and unsaved by having two handshakes.

The announcements of various church related neighbourhood matters: finances, illness, funerals, revivals. This is the most random item, occurring not only before and after the opening prayer and the invitational to those under conviction, but even after the dismissal prayer. This latter example, from the Banshies' Hollow Church, was not observed in any other church visited in the local area or beyond either within this denomination or outside it for the routine worship service. It is noticeable only at the /Association meeting/ level and for the

/Church Homecoming/ - the most formal religious ritual situations.

This is only one indication that there is something unusual about this particular congregation. We will be considering this congregation again in Chapter V. Consequently we can disregard for the moment the deviant example for this church where (g) follows the dismissal prayer to state that items (a) the choir and (i) the dismissal prayer bound the worship situation.

The congregational activities can all be seen in the concept of 'mission'. 'Mission' here is restricted to the /home/ area, that is, /before we can go to anybody else we have to save our family, our neighbours, our friends/ as it was put in one homecoming sermon. So this

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
6-visiting	+	+	+
7-bible school	+	-	-
8-sunday school	-	+	+
9-singing school	-	+	+
10-christmas play	-	+	+
11-youth group	-	+	-
12-prayer meeting	-	+	-

Figure VIII: Congregational Activities

'home mission' is not that of the Presbyterians noted in Chapter One. In Figure VIII we indicate the type of activities which are increasingly part of the congregational concern. /Visiting/, for church members, concerns visits by individuals at churches with which the local church is affiliated /in fellowship/. Individuals are encouraged to give support to the affiliated congregation's revivals.

The other six are institutionalised activities provided by the church and aimed at the neighbourhood. Other than name, there is no difference between the bible school provided by the Alum Springs Church

and the sunday schools provided at the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches. Both types of school restrict study of the bible to the moral aspects rather than particular doctrinal aspects. The singing school, christmas play, and youth group were activities for the /young people/. Here this meant older primary school children, secondary school children, young adults, whether married or not, and even middle-age adults. The only common feature of all of these persons was that they were not in authority positions either in the neighbourhood or in their work outside the neighbourhood.

The prayer meeting is a mid-week service usually, to pray for those sick or in difficulty or under conviction. However, only the most religious attend. These were primarily the church officers - deacons and deaconess', the clerk, the pastor, and others in the neighbourhood who attend all church activities. These latter individuals went to any church service or activity in the neighbourhood. Apart from revivals which would go on every night of the week, it was possible to attend church regularly in this neighbourhood four nights each week at some church, with choice on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. These various congregation activities provide a forum for Rivalry between churches. This type of interaction in particular is seen between the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch Churches. The Banshies' Hollow pastor stressed that if people were diligent in their prayers it would not be possible for people to feel the need for trying to be healed. The surface similarity of form between the healing and the ordination services is the basis of the dialectic between these two pastors. This is apparent in their separate sermons, the one defending himself from the other's attack whenever they attend each other's churches. Members of each church and other residents in the neighbourhood attend to watch this dialogue.

Even though this particular example of rivalry involves churches of two different denominations, rivalry is potential between congregations of the same denomination as well. In fact, there was more rivalry between the Banshies' Hollow Church and two other neighbouring congregations with which it is affiliated than between this church and the Copperhead Branch Church.

In Figure IX the three local churches are contrasted in terms of the type of sermon and prayer and whether religious ecstasy is practised. Because the Alum Springs Church is locally called a /dignified/

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
13-sermon; /teaching/	+	+	-
14- /preaching/	-	+	+
15-prayer: solo	+	-	-
16- unison	-	+	+
17-testimony; /testifying/	-	♂/♀*	♂/♀*
18-possession trance	-	a**	a/b**

* participants' sex: ♂ - male; ♀ - female

** associated situation: a - prophecy; b - healing

Figure IX: Possession

church and the Copperhead Branch Church, a /spirited/ church, we feel we are on solid ground in viewing the /teaching/versus /preaching/ and the solo versus unison prayer and testimony as contrasts between 'formal' and 'informal' behaviour. Testimony is grouped with /preaching/; the difference here is that both exhibit possession, only the preacher however is allowed to preach.

This 'formal' behaviour is noted in three contexts contrasting to behaviour that is referred to locally as /not standing on ceremony/. The three contexts are the sacrament service, the funeral and the opening ceremony of the association meeting. This contrast between formal

and informal involves both /teaching/ and solo prayer. In two contexts, this formal-informal contrast involves only the type of prayer. These contexts are the Association worship services conducted while the Association meets, and the church homecomings. These are discussed in Chapter III. Here we show how the formal-informal contrast cuts across two of the religious contexts.

When we compare our three local-level churches upon participation, and compare them to Figure IX, we note three items of similarity and difference for the churches. First, absence of ecstasy or possession

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
19-clergy	♂	♂	♂/♀
20-lay participation:deacon or deaconess	♂	♂/♀	♂/♀
21-lay participation:ordinary member	-	(♂/♀)*	♂/♀

* Indicates special situation during revival

Figure X: Participation

is consistent with a clergy which /teaches/only and where prayer is a solo offering from the clergy and the deacons among the members. Second, possession is either of two situations - prophecy and/or illness - is consistent with clergy who /preach/, unison prayer, and with participation by members whether occupying a special religious status or not. Third, only testifying is unrestricted in the Banshies' Hollow Church. All other activities, leading prayer or reading scripture, are restricted to deacons and deaconesses or to other pastors. This restriction may, in part, explain why the 'ideal' revival service is the exception rather than the rule. The 'ideal' revival service observed was a service where the scripture reading and sermon

were replaced by testimony after testimony. This is also an example of spontaneity.

It should be apparent that what we are calling a tradition of apocalyptic prophecy does not include the Alum Springs Church since neither /preaching/ nor /testifying/ occurs in this church. We know that they have been within this tradition, splitting off from it in the late 1930's. This church was always called a dignified church in the local area however, and the local socio-economic correlates of the kinship isolate correlated with this church are consistent with its splitting off earlier than others from the association. This congregation is correlated with the most well-off section and most-educated section of the local neighbourhoods. The jobs and occupations are mainly those of skilled labour and some white-collar. The Copperhead Branch church too has roots in this apocalyptic prophecy tradition in terms of the origin of the pastor and many of its members. The pastor and many of the men of his congregation have worked in the coal mines further to the south of this neighbourhood and all of the persons still working in the mines are affiliated with this church. This church is also correlated with the kinship isolate ranked the lowest on socio-economic criteria with jobs mainly in the unskilled labour category and including the welfare recipients of food stamps. The Banshies' Hollow Church, the church still within the dominant regional group, is correlated with the kinship isolate ranked between the highest and lowest socio-economic groupings for the local-level neighbourhood. The jobs and occupations here are classified mainly as semi-skilled and some skilled labour/white-collar jobs. The differences between these three local level churches is most starkly seen when the significance of the sermon is compared.

In Figure XI we point up the contrasts as stressed in sermons.

The Alum Springs Church, because of its explicit focus on evolution in a figurative sense and vague stance on the time of the Day of Judgement, stressing instead the stance that belief in Christ makes salvation possible, should probably be considered as within an orthodox christian tradition which holds that the period of direct revelation by God ended with the coming of Christ. The reign of saints noted by the Copperhead Branch Church paradoxically has elements also noted for the utopia of the communists whom they preach against. The Banshies' Hollow

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
22-Evolution;Creation Week	figurative	literal	-
23-Evolution;Adam-Eve Story	"(NewTest)	"(New Test)	literal (Old Test)
24-Millennarian; End of Time	vague	specific	vague
25-Millennarian; Reign of Saints	-	-	+

Figure XI: General Sermon Focus

Church's specific stance on when the Day of Judgement is to occur (the year 2000) is understandable only by noting the literal stance on the seven-day creation story and the person credited with establishing the church, John the Revelator. Only then is it possible to ascertain why it is held that we are now living in the /last day of the Lord/.

By way of summary, we bring together items from the various aspects we have been considering for the three local-level churches clustered in terms of the similarities, the differences, and the contrasts between sub-classifications. First we show the points of similarity between the three churches. Despite the similarities especially of the rituals, probably the primary evidence for considering churches like these local-level churches in our study as all of the same type, when we compare them with the differences between all

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
(II) Rituals			
1-Cemetery homecoming	+	+	+
2-Revival meeting	+	+	+
3-Full-immersion baptism	+	+	+
4-Sacrament Service	+	+	+
(III) Activities			
6-Visiting	+	+	+

Figure XII: Similarities

three churches we find we cannot continue to consider the three local

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
(II) Ritual			
5-Church /homecoming/	+	<u>+</u>	-
(IV) Sermon type & focus			
18-Possession trance	-	a	a/b
22-Creation Week	figurative	literal	-
23-Adam-Eve Story	"(N Test)	"(N Test)	literal (0 Test)

Figure XIII: Differences

churches as of the same type.

When we compare the three churches for the items which they have in common with one other in the neighbourhood, we find that these variations concern mainly the congregation activities and the sermon type. Let us take the churches with the most items in common: the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branches first. Figure XIV shows up quite strongly the lack of prophecy currently for the Alum Springs Church along with the most rigorous maintenance of the stance regarding the reliance upon the New Testament guide to church activities. All of these activities have a religious motif, however the bible

school-sunday school do not have the entertainment aspect which the singing school and christmas play have for the community. When we

	Alum. Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
(III) Activities			
7-Bible School	+	-	-
8-Sunday School	-	+	+
9-Singing School	-	+	+
10-Christmas play	-	+	+
(IV) Sermon Type			
14-/Preaching/	-	+	+
16-Unison prayer	-	+	+
17-/Testifying/	-	♂/♀	♂/♀
20-Participation:deacon etc	♂	♂/♀	♂/♀
21-Participation:member	-	♂/♀	♂/♀

Figure XIV: Contrast between the Alum Sptings and Banshies' Hollow /Copperhead Branch Churches

compare the similarities of the Banshies' Hollow Church with the Alum Springs Church in contrast to the Copperhead Branch Church, Figure XV,

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
(IV) Sermon type & focus			
13-/Teaching/	+	+	-
15-solo prayer	+	+	-
19-Clergy	♂	♂	♂/♀
25-Reign of saints	-	-	+

Figure XV: Contrast between the Copperhead Branch and Alum Springs/Banshies' Hollow Churches

we find the formal behaviour patterns in combination with orthodox conservative protestant positions on the sex of the clergy and the lack of the most apocalyptic interpretation of the reign of saints after the Day of Judgement. The items of similarity between the Copperhead Branch and Alum Springs churches, Figure XVI, concern activities and an orthodox stance on the time of the Day of Judgement.

Even the similarities indicate different meanings when the total pattern is remembered. For example, noting these two churches as being similar

	Alum Springs	Banshies' Hollow	Copperhead Branch
(III) Activities			
11-Youth group	-	+	-
12-Prayer meeting	-	+	-
(IV) Sermon focus			
24-End of time	vague	specific	vague

Figure XVI: Contrast between Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch/Alum Springs Churches

by their common lack of a prayer meeting must be tempered by remembering that the Copperhead Branch Church includes a more direct appeal for divine intervention in terms of the Healing rite which is part of the sacrament service.

In the next section, we consider those rituals in the community which are passage rituals in whole or in part. These rituals focus on the relationship between the individual and the group in two contexts: kinship and religion.

SECTION IV

Three Rites of Passage

The /funeral/, the /cemetery homecoming/ and the /revival-baptism - sacrament meeting/.

The over-riding ceremonially marked life-crisis in this community which everyone can expect to undergo, is death. Births are seldom ritually marked although birthdays are a ceremonial occasion within the

nuclear families and within a set with the increasing age of the focal couple. Marriages are likewise seldom ritually marked at the community-wide level. These are individual and nuclear family concerns for the most part. A church wedding is a marked event however since the requirement is for the bride to be already saved. Most marriages occur in the late-teens-early twenties' age grouping and this age grouping is not prominent among church members.

The /Funeral/ and Cemetery Homecoming: The ceremonies of the funeral, the cemetery homecoming and the ceremonial sequence of the revival, the baptism and the sacrament are situations which are related to individual life crises. All three focus in some way on the event of death. The funeral and the cemetery homecoming pertain primarily to the kinship group; the ceremonial sequence to the religious group.

The sequence of the rite of passage through separation transition, and incarnation is as follows. Once death occurs, there is a three day period prescribed by state law (as to how quickly the body must be buried). This three day period is the period of separation for the funeral ritual which constitutes the transition from the quick status to that where the body is commended to God, the burial service. This passage primarily concerns the immediate family of the deceased.

For the three days after death prior to the funeral service and burial, behaviour similar to the /setting up/ period occurs. This setting up occurs when the end is nigh for one who is seriously ill and expected to die. At this time someone is at the beck and call of the one ill, and last minute requests are paid particular attention to. Friends and relatives call to visit. Quartet groups may be invited for favourite songs to be heard. After the person dies, the mortician takes the body to prepare it for burial. The body is displayed at

the Funeral Home, at the family home, or at the church (or a sequential combination of these) prior to the funeral which again may be held at these three places or even the graveside. The wishes of the family, or of the recently deceased, are the determining factor.

In the late 1940's, the New Jerusalem Association amended a ruling that left pastoral appointments totally to congregational choice. This ruling stated that no preacher from outside the association, or those with whom correspondance existed, could be given any work of the congregation. The amendment exempted funerals from this ruling, and congregations were enjoined to co-operate concerning funeral matters. That is, the choice of preachers and singers was henceforth left to the family concerned.

The funeral, wherever it is held, is a formal service, even in those churches where religious ecstasy is routine. Ecstasy is not permitted at the funeral service. The pastor of the Alum Springs Church was the main officiate at the four local-level funerals which were conducted during the field periods. One funeral was at the funeral home, one at the family residence, and two at a church. The deceased included one member of his own congregation, one member of a local church in the New Jerusalem Association, and two non-church members, one of these, . . . a relative of the pastor of the Copperhead Branch Church. All four funerals were conducted in the same formal manner typical of the Alum Springs Church. All brief sermons were the same: the theme was the Day of Judgement, it was stressed especially that no 1000-year reign would occur, and the question was raised whether the person could be seen as christian by work if not by public profession. The pastor stressed that only God knew if the deceased was saved, so we men must not presume to know the verdict. We could only hope that

the person had been saved before the death. He reminded the mourners that the deceased was asleep and would be reawakened at the trumpet call on Judgement Day.

Funeral services take place at either of two times, 11 a.m. or 2 p.m. The service is short, none exceeded 1/2 hour. These services, to an outsider, are the most dignified of any of the religious services. The only emotion displayed is at the casket is opened for review and when it is finally moved and taken to the cemetery. This emotion is not like that in revivals - wailing is involved, not just weeping or sobbing. The wailing is loudest, not from the family, but from local women who are from the lowest status groupings in the community.

The burial is attended by family and closest friends. We did not attend any burial service. We were told however that there were prayers at this service - unlike the funeral service, see Figure I.

a
b
c/talking/
a
r

r-review of open casket

Figure I: Funeral Order of Service

Also the emotion expected occurs as the coffin is lowered into the ground and covered. The whole family attends: men, women and children. Though there is no special funeral colour or mourning dress or colour, this is the only occasion where women wear hats. Given the contrast between the funeral and the reported burial and other religious services, we notice in particular the lack of prayer at the funeral either to begin or end the service. The funeral would seem to

be a situation of ministry and not religious per se. This service is not addressed to God but to the surviving family, friends, and neighbours. This was also explicitly noted by the Alum Springs pastor in conversations where others discussed funerals they had attended. One funeral was noted where a sermon was preached on the resurrection of the saved on Judgement Day in the style associated with a revival. Discussion focused on the detrimental effect such an experience would have on the mourners.

The pastor of the Copperhead Branch Church, from whose family one of the non-church members came and whose funeral was preached by the Alum Springs pastor, on the Sunday following this funeral preached the funeral sermon he would have conducted even though this would not have reassured his family - a point which he publicly stressed. His church was well attended that evening because the neighbourhood know his stance on the matter. That is, that death is seldom predictable and thus serves as an object lesson to those unsaved especially if the deceased was unsaved. He holds that the message of the Day of Judgement would be most consciously understood at this time. This pastor has never conducted a local funeral. He did preach his funeral-type sermon at a local cemetery homecoming.⁽³⁹⁾ There is a

⁽³⁹⁾ This was the occasion of the 13 homecomings attended where a revival theme of /hellfire-n-brimstone/ was the message expanded. This cemetery was one of the ones we visited twice. The reason for the revival theme was because a burial which had occurred during the previous year involved a person who was unsaved. That is, he had not heeded the /call/ to come in and as a result he was not a church member. He was thus a prime example of the danger of postponing one's reckoning with the Lord. It was observed by some of those attending who were not yet church members and who were not sitting in the pulpit area that in a few years time he'd be called one of the saved in this cemetery and it would be forgotten publicly that he was not considered saved when he died. In terms of the other homecomings attended this observation seems accurate since there was an all-inclusive incorporation concerning /our dead in this here cemetery/ as examples for /those of us assembled here to make our peace with the Lord if we have not

difference of opinion in the community as to whether the funeral is a kinship concern or a religious concern primarily. Most people adopt the official stance of the Association viewing the funeral as a kinship concern which has nevertheless religious overtones.

For the surviving family however, the funeral and burial constitute the separation phase preliminary to the transition ritual of the cemetery homecoming which is an annual memorial service encompassing all the dead in the cemetery. In this sequence however, the incorporation phase is seen only in the ideology of death; the Day of Judgement when Jesus returns to earth to decide the fate of heaven or hell for each individual, quick or dead. The persons who attend the cemetery homecoming is a larger grouping than those who were obligated to attend the funeral or allowed to attend the burial. As such, the cemetery homecoming is a rite of intensification for a social group larger than the nuclear family is the relevant social entity. The resurrection theme and the theme of the prodigal son are the expected and typical themes for the annual memorial services. Of the cemetery homecomings attended, only one was the first homecoming after a burial. This one occasion posed several contrasts to the other twelve.

In terms of the living survivors to the deceased, the commemoration meal which is a part of the cemetery homecoming serves as a rite of incorporation, to reunite all the surviving members of the group with each other. In this context van Gennep notes (1960:163-164) that the rites of transition come to an end - eventually there is a last commemoration service. This ritual of separation for this local community can be seen only if the set limit is noted, otherwise the

done it already/. The /hellfire-n-brimstone/ message is a revival theme and not usually considered a funeral theme.

annual homecomings have no end. If one views the honouring of the dead in terms of the limits of the set, the obligation to attend such rituals extends only to the grandchildren. But of course they have gone with their grandparents when these have honoured the graves of their parents and grandparents. But the last rite celebrated is never one that can be anticipated, but only noted in retrospect. That is, one no longer attends the commemoration services of great-grandparents when the only kinsmen linking the survivors with a deceased is also deceased and not buried in the same cemetery.

The homecoming grew out of the situation where the funeral service was not co-terminous with the burial. The reason most often given was that of a death in the winter season. Sometimes, according to Campbell (1969:148-149) the funeral might be postponed several years:

Writers and speakers have made much of deferred funeral preachings, seemingly finding something very strange and striking in them. They are, after all, only memorial services delayed, of necessity, until the preacher could be present at a propitious season, usually in the fall when there is enough food and fodder to supply both the people and stock....Arrangements are generally made some time in advance in order that there may be a large gathering. Naturally the day is not one of deep grief to many of those present. They have come in sober wise as the occasion befitted, but something too in the manner of a holiday, when neighbour may visit with neighbour seldom seen and learn the news of the intervening years. Usually there are several preachers, each of whom may speak for two or three hours at a time, being succeeded when he is at length exhausted. A good deal of informality is manifested about listening to the whole of all of the discourse, but there is a courteous hearing given to each although the audience may vary from time to time. At noon a general rest is taken, and sometimes the opportunity is utilized for a baptizing.

This was the situation pre-WW I. The situation now is much more institutionalised in terms of different contexts for the funeral, the commemoration service, and the baptism.

The homecoming at the graveyard is now an annual memorial service

to commemorate the dead in that particular cemetery. The majority of these cemeteries are very small. Of the 13 homecomings we visited taking place over the two summers of 1970 and 1971, three cemeteries were visited twice. Of the ten different cemeteries, only one was exceptionally large, having 856 graves whereas the average of the other nine is 101.5 graves. Four of these nine had less than 100 graves (with an average of 36.5 and a range from 24 to 69) and five had between 100 and 200 (with an average of 153.6 and a range from 111 to 196). Homecomings were not held at another two local cemeteries with 41 and 191 graves. Of the ten cemeteries where homecomings were held, at only two was dinner not provided afterwards. These two were the largest cemetery - with over 800 graves - and one of the smallest - with only 27 graves.

The homecoming season begins after Memorial Day, 31st May, and extends nearly six months. During this half-year period there are two homecoming cycles going along co-terminously, one cemetery and one church. The peak of the cemetery gatherings occurs in the late summer, the peak of the church gatherings comes in early autumn. Memorial Day at the national level is a day set aside to commemorate the war dead from all of America's wars.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Originally this day was established to commemorate the war dead from the Civil War. In this Appalachian region, Memorial Day is to commemorate all dead. It is accordingly also called, locally, /Decoration Day/. On this day a visit is made to the cemetery to decorate the graves of one's own nuclear family's deceased. The graves are decorated with plants which may grow the

(40) See W. Lloyd Warner, 1952, Chapter X: "Symbolic Analysis of an American Sacred Ceremony," Structure of American Life, Edinburgh: University Press, pg 207-236 (being the 1950 Munro Lectures).

year round, or may be cut flowers which will last a short time, or they may be plastic or crepe-paper flowers. The important symbolic referent is that of everlasting life or renewed life. These images are constant in sermons and gospel hymns for both the cemetery homecomings and the revival meetings.

The specific homecoming gathering is a set date, on a Sunday, when the extended family is expected to gather for a family reunion. On the Saturday before, if the cemetery is not too isolated, a work party will go to the cemetery to clear the graves of the previous year's temporary decorations and to mow the grass. On the Sunday, as family groups arrive, the new decorations are put out on the graves, including those for which there are no longer living relatives responsible for visiting, so that all the graves have been marked. The amount of decorations indicates the extent of the homage rendered, so there is a contrast between those graves still commemorated by the extended family. Children are cautioned about playing on the graves by the older folk. This is in keeping with the religious theme of the dead as only sleeping. It also serves to keep the new decorations from being trampled unintentionally.

The graves have an east-west alignment with a difference noticeable between the pre- and post-WW II burials. Older burials are aligned to the natural east-west path of the sun at the time of the burial. For these the rough season can be calculated by this slightly shifting alignment. The newer burials are aligned on the compass east-west. Consequently the season of burial cannot be ascertained from the grave itself. The graves face east. The cemeteries are placed generally on the ridge-tops specifically at the ends of ridges which project out towards the east. Extension of the cemetery is down the eastern slope. No one could give a reason for this other than that's what

the old people did. Our suggestion that the reason might be that Jerusalem and the Holy Land was to the east was considered plausible although it was never taken up and repeated spontaneously at later times. However, the customary tradition is followed rigidly with no known exceptions.

One corner of the cemetery is set aside for the pulpit area. There is no set placement apparent as there is for the alignment of the graves. Some of these worship arrangements are rough planks and cinder blocks; others are more elaborate roofed open-air shelters over a concrete platform. Sometimes picnic tables and out-houses are included as facilities available. It was reported that when the Federal Government offered land in compensation for cemeteries which would be flooded or cut off in consequence of a flood-control dam being built in the county, an investigator had to be sent to find out why some cemeteries were not wanted moved and why picnic tables were included as part of the cemetery facilities requested. The picnic area was eventually provided after he had been to a homecoming memorial.

The persons bringing food are those families who live nearby. The food provided is not a picnic of snack foods but a full-scale dinner - the point is to provide enough for all comers and still take away food at the end of the day. Cooking for the meeting takes up the entire Saturday preceeding the homecoming. Chicken-and-dumplings, ham-and-sweet potatoes, beef stew (in the autumn), meat loaf; pots of snap beans, baked beans, creamed maize; potatoe, cabbage and macaroni salads; cornbread (i.e. maize), muffins; cakes, pies, gelatines, fruit salads; tea, coffee, lemonaid, kool-aid and colas are available in abundance. New recipies are mixed in with the old standbys, thus a new item can be introduced at the beginning of the season and by the end may have spread quite widely. Two new deserts were introduced in

this fashion over the two seasons visit. A bite of everything offered is taken if possible. After dinner people chat awhile before leaving or reassembling for a possible second memorial preaching in the afternoon. The visitors will not usually return to their homes directly but make calls upon various relatives still in the area.

The order of worship has the same sequence as the usual worship service. The difference between these homecoming rituals and the regular year-round worship services is the time of day, and for some groups even the day. The regular services are held in the evening on Friday, Saturday, or Sunday; the homecoming services are held during the day on Sunday. The people gather at the cemetery from 9:00 a.m. on, with the intention of starting the memorial service by 10:00 a.m. The choir, composed of any present who wish to sing, assembles for a few songs. One of the cemetery trustees, those persons who represent the set for the upkeep of the cemetery, usually co-ordinates the proceedings. For most cemeteries, during the last opening hymn, after about 2-4 songs, everyone is invited to come forward for a handshake all round. Those assembling at the pulpit area in general and those going forward for the handshake are persons who have been/saved/ or who are/under conviction/⁽⁴¹⁾ Other cemetery memorials have the handshake at the end of the service for church members only. After this greeting, testimonies of faith and thanksgiving are given by individuals in the congregation before a prayer is led by the deacon or preacher present; for most groups this is a group prayer. A scripture lesson pertaining to the resurrection or the prodigal son parable is read, and the message preached upon. The sermon typically lasts for an hour. Depending upon the number of different church affiliations among the cemetery attenders, the prayer, the scripture lesson and the sermon will be handled by different preachers. The prime

⁽⁴¹⁾ See pg. 116ff below.

symbolic referent in the sermons and the gospel hymns is to /home/; this is extended from family, locality, cemetery (and church), to ultimately, heaven for those saved. There is a closing prayer and announcements of revivals beginning the day following the homecoming are made. Visiting singing groups, whether solos, duos, trios, or quartets (the most common), are invited to sing several songs each while the dinner is laid out. If inclement weather is forecast or develops the ritual will be cut short and everyone will disperse back to their cars and trucks in order not to get stranded on the ridges if the dirt roads become impassable because of the amount of traffic for the day.

In summary then, homage obligations to one's extended family appear to be annually required or expected. Obligations beyond this relationship may not be expected since we have noted that two cemeteries do not have homecomings. We have no evidence of the frequency which is normative or which is expected since this is probably a matter for annual observation. The adequacy of homage given may well be another area for the tension we have discussed in Section II above between the nuclear family and the set to be displayed.

The point we wish to stress about the cemetery homecoming is that the same ritual has a different position in the rites of passage scheme depending upon the referent point of the deceased or the living. The analysis of the ritual for the living is an incorporation ritual which is repeated annually and having an end only retrospectively. There is seldom an exact anticipated last time to hold the ritual. While for the deceased, the commemoration is rather another ritual in the sequence of the transition noted between life and judgement since the final incorporation is believed to be Judgement Day and is imminently expected. The ritual then carries a double weighting because

of these two analytic meanings relevant at the same time. The meaning manifestly stressed is that vis-a-vis the deceased. The other meaning noticed, however pejoratively, is that the young people do not follow the old ways anymore. Yet this notice merely seems to provide a self-fulfilling prophecy in terms of the traditionally shifting set of which one is a member.

The /Revival/ - /Baptism/ - /Sacrament Meeting/: The /revival/ ritual has received attention in the literature in isolation from the context of the predisposing factors and the subsequent rituals which follow from an individual's conversion at a revival: the /baptism/ and the /sacrament meeting/. Let us follow the salvation sequence through the revival, the conversion, the baptism and the sacrament service.

During the fourteen months field-period, thirteen revivals were held in the vicinity of the three local-level churches. Six were held following cemetery or church homecomings; seven were held over the rest of the year. That is, there was generally one per month. Of these thirteen, five were held by two of our three local-level churches, those at Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch. Alum Springs was reported to have held a revival approximately one year after we left the field. Nine of the revivals lasted one week, two lasted two weeks, and one lasted nearly three weeks. One also aborted after two days coinciding with one which eventually lasted two weeks.

The revival meeting lasts as long as the other religious meetings we attended, that is, roughly two hours. While it is publicly stated that the revival will go on as long as necessary, comment is especially noted for those lasting less than two weeks and those longer than this time. A poor revival lasts less than two weeks, a good one lasts over two weeks.

In the one "ideal" revival meeting we attended in the place of a

scripture, sermon and invitational, there was nearly one and one-half hours of testimony after testimony by persons in the congregation telling how they came to know they were saved and the trials suffered during conviction. This meeting was referred to many times over the subsequent period in the field as the way a revival meeting ought to be. This individual testimony is crucial because it is often the only way to get a guide as to what the person /under conviction/ should expect of conversion so that he or she can ascertain when this has occurred.

While preachers speak of the confusion of those who expect a vision, a Saul on the road to Damascus experience, in contrast to acknowledging one is a sinner, most people refer to vision experiences, or experiences taken as omens, as how they knew they were called in to the church. As well, most preachers refer to a vision experience as the sign that they were called to preach. Only the Alum Springs Church is consistent in stressing that realisation of being a sinner is enough foundation upon which to ground one's salvation. Also this church does not require a revival to aid in this realisation - God is at work everywhere and the troubles of life are merely the way God speaks and tests one's faith after one has heard the message. This church did hold one revival that we know of, but did not observe. It was said to be /just like church only every night/. It was held when the daughter of a recently deceased member began attending and studying the bible.

While the pastors of other churches accept that one can be called anytime, they also argue that the church must be there to keep one from misunderstanding the experience or disregarding it. These pastors also feel God makes only one call and if it is ignored for whatever reason one is automatically damned. Thus the duty of a church in

helping the Lord's work is always being ready to sponsor a revival somewhere in the local vicinity. Churches of the same denomination are enjoined to help each other by not scheduling revivals at the same time but to take the sponsorship in turns. Otherwise people may be led astray into the wrong groups which aren't christian but only think they are. When someone comes forward, they request prayers to help them through. Often at this point they are weeping. The person conducting the revival - who may be the home church's pastor or the association's evangelist whose job it is to conduct revivals, or to open them at the very least - often calls on those saved in the congregation to also come forward and to offer prayer. Throughout this unison prayer, with the congregation kneeling and raising their hands to the heavens as well as their voices, the preacher will ask different doctrinal questions to the person /under conviction/.

Depending on the answers the person may be determined as sound or unsound of belief and as still needing help to realise their salvation. At this point usually comment is made about accepting the fact that God saves you by faith rather than still insisting on a definitive experience to /know/ it. One unsuccessful local candidate was considered as unsound because the parents were in different denominations and the children thus had doctrinal elements of both in their own beliefs. This was seen as the obstacle to their being saved no matter how long they remained /under conviction/.

The contrast between belief and salvation is important for these churches depending upon adult conversion. Many, if not all, of the people residing here believe in God, Heaven, and Hell - the problem is salvation. One local alcoholic is still an alcoholic because he hasn't been called into the church yet so he continues to drink - since going to the church without being called or being under conviction is hypo-

critical. The period of conviction is somewhat vague, though residents state that about one year is usual. There are several ways to know if someone is under conviction: their behaviour changes from what is usually considered their typical personality. They may weep often and unexpectedly, they may do things to hurt others' feelings on purpose, or they may suddenly begin to be interested in things religious - reading the bible, going to church wherever and whenever they can. It was pointed out that if this year passed without joining a church, it was felt that they would never become interested again. This conviction period was observed in association with several crisis point situations in terms of the background of the people coming forward at a revival. This may or may not be part of the public confession of one's sins (smoking, drinking, gambling, mean thoughts, running around). These crisis points occurred at adolescence, after childbirth, after a sudden death of a close kinsman, relative or friend, after a move back to the country from town, after continued unemployment. However, these were seldom given directly as what made the person realise he or she was unsaved by those already church members. They were more often mentioned during testimony. It would seem that a problem of privacy is involved here, Privacy matters are made public only in a very special situation - helping someone else in successfully getting through an experience deemed most important in his or her life. Here the injunction against being an impediment to another's faith would seem to over-ride what would otherwise be a private concern.

If the person under conviction succeeds in both convincing others of his soundness of belief, and being convinced that he is saved by faith, the next step is the sequence of three rituals: full-immersion baptism, the Lord's Supper, and foot-washing, which incorporate the person into the church. While the sacrament service, as the latter

two are called collectively, can be taken again and again, baptism is a once and forever ritual. It is called the /spiritual rebirth/. Comment is made when any example of a second baptism is cited unless the first baptism was received as a child or by "sprinkling" only. The full-immersion focus is attributed to the guide set by John the Baptist. At the baptism, the person who is to be baptised is dressed in a plastic raincoat, or also an ornate house-robe if female, placed over the persons own clothes. Then the person, plus two preachers, go into the water to waist-high level, shoes and all. The person is bent backwards underwater as the preacher quotes scripture relating to the baptism in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and then raised up out of the water. The three then retire to various nearby homes to change clothes. The two persons baptised at the Alum Springs church were baptised on a Sunday after the Bible School so that they would be able to take the sacrament at the next church meeting the following Saturday. The one person baptised by the Banshies' Hollow Church was baptised on a Sunday and so was able to take the sacrament that evening.

The sacrament meeting is also called /the foot-washing/ by the Alum Springs and Banshies' Hollow churches because this ritual added to the Communion provides a contrast with churches who do not perform the foot-washing rite. It is called a /healing service/ an addition by the Copperhead Branch Church because this a healing rite is added to the other two. The Banshies' Hollow Church has regular sacrament service whenever there is a month with a fifth Sunday. The communion service is not usually a regular service. By custom a sacrament service is held only after a baptism or for an infirm person who feels close to death, for the Alum Springs Church and many of the churches, especially the rural ones, in the association with Banshies' Hollow

Church. We stress many because this point of making the sacrament service a regular practice is one of the issues under discussion privately in the association. It is usually the town or city churches which seek to regularise this service and not the churches scattered through the countryside or in villages. The Copperhead Branch Church's healing service is also a service requested when someone feels they need healing.

In the two sacrament services in which we participated there are differences to be noted. The Alum Springs Church provides a common plate with pieces of broken bread and a common glass of grape juice. This is placed on a table which always remains in front of the pulpit. The Banshies' Hollow Church sets up a table, one of the same one used for setting out food during the church homecoming, and places individual plates and glasses providing special unleavened wafer portions and red wine. Care was taken to make two points concerning the wine. First, it was noted that after it was blessed it was not the same alcoholic substance which is preached against. Second, it was stressed that it was not turned into the blood of Christ at the blessing but only symbolised the blood.

The foot-washing ritual was similar for the two churches. The men and women go to different sides of the church-house. If there are an even number of persons in the small groups, the persons pair up washing each others feet in turn. If there are an odd number of persons, then a circle order of washing is the rule. A basin of water is placed on the floor in front of the person whose feet are to be washed. The person washing the feet wraps a long narrow white towel around the waist, tying one end at the waist, and using the other end to dry the feet after they have been made wet. The washing itself is very much an individual matter - the feet may be placed in the bowl,

each foot may be washed and dried separately, or the feet may only be made wet by scooping water in the hands and pouring it on the feet for example. Subdued chatter goes on while each pair is involved in the washing or being washed. These two persons remain silent. Even humorous events at previous foot-washings are told. One example is that concerning a new bride (pre-WW I) who when getting ready for the sacrament meeting put soot in her husband's socks so that when it was his turn to be washed his feet wouldn't be clean - would he be allowed to take part or not. He was, but he had to be last and could not use the sacrament towel. The major difference at this part of the sacrament service between the two rituals is the side of the building the men and women go to. At the Alum Springs Church, women go to the right hand side of the building facing the pulpit, men to the left hand side. At the Eanshies' Hollow Church, the women go to the left hand side, the men to the right hand side. This setting placement is the same during the regular service. The Copperhead Branch Church also seats women usually on the left hand side, the men on the right hand side.

Usually the sacrament service is announced, thus only those who intend to take communion attend. Even when announced, however, some may come to church not knowing which makes for an awkward situation. It was observed on one occasion that a couple came who did not know and who left just before the sacrament was to be taken. They announced that they could no longer take foot-washing along with the communion. Later during the field period, they withdrew their membership. The egalitarian-include-everyone-in-the-activity etiquette which normally prevails in public is the issue here because exclusion is potential at both the individual and the group levels of participation for this ritual. The church is not considered as a private place but a public

one and congregational particularity is pejoratively discussed often citing the close communion churches as examples. Knowing this potential embarrassment, an announcement is made so that individuals who do not feel they can take communion or who have been excluded from the group do not attend. The announcement, however, is often a verbal, short-notice affair so it is not surprising that some do not get the information before they come if they are not regular attenders at local churches. The baptism which occurred at Banshies' Hollow Church was the cause of a very short-notice announcement (only a few hours) for the sacrament service that same night. We have followed the sequence of rituals concerned with joining the church and taking part to the fullest in the sense of taking part in the crucial rituals.

If we consider van Gennep's insights here, we note his separation, transition and incorporation phases as follows. We will note first the set of phases for the individual undergoing a life crisis. The phase of separation we view as beginning with the period of /conviction/. People in the community specified three ways by which they know someone is under conviction.

The transition phase will be different for the Alum Springs Church and other two local churches. For the Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches, this phase will involve the revival meeting. There may be more than one - five of the thirteen revivals attended in our fourteen month field period were sponsored by these two churches. The Alum Springs Church may have a revival but does not hold this to be absolutely mandatory. The transition phase for the individual concerned will last as long as he or she is under conviction. The conversion experience marks the end of the transition phase if the individual is to join the church. Conversion may however not take place. The community discussed this as a real possibility. And while it

it was stressed that the person already saved had a duty to help, it was also obvious that rationalisation of failure of a person to become converted takes place as well.

The baptism rite marks the beginning of the reincorporation phase, which is complete when the sacrament service is held. There may be a passage of time between these rituals. For the Alum Springs Church there was a gap of nearly a week between the baptism and the sacrament service. For the Banshies' Hollow Church the two rites were held on the same day. At one time there was a doctrinal dispute concerning the time of the descent of the Holy Ghost. This issue was the cause of the Alum Springs Church leaving the larger religious network. At that time, this church held that the Holy Ghost descends when the person realises that he or she is saved. Now this church holds, along with the association it left, that the Holy Ghost descends upon arising from immersion when the person undergoes baptism. This doctrinal stance must be considered when one is deciding where to consider the boundary between, or the overlap of, phases.

During the transition phase, different gatherings occur at different revivals as well as different gatherings from one night to the next during a given revival. Here there will be both saved and unsaved, both members of this specific church or denomination and of others. The gathering at the baptism is different again. Here kinsmen, whether saved or not, as well as friends, neighbours, and church members will be in attendance. The same set of people is an expectation only for the sacrament service at the church of membership. Here there is the restriction to the saved. Yet even for this gathering there will be variations over time. These are minor in comparison to the other variations we have drawn attention to - however, greater predictability will prevail for this group than for the other

gatherings. For the saved at the sacrament service, the rite will be a rite of intensification involving the social group ritually taking note of a new member.

One's obligation as a church member does not end with the partaking of the groups rituals. One's duty as a christian involves actions as well. These actions can be seen both at the individual level and the group level. Individually, one has the obligation to /witness/, defined by these people as involving /singing/ and /testifying/ in order to help others under conviction to be saved. This is at some variance with what the pastors and preachers emphasise usually as witnessing whereby the whole of the way one lives one's life is one's /witness to the unsaved/. This of course is not as dramatic in its consequences as that which focuses upon the revival and conversion.

In the religious singing context, there is the verbalisation that singing per se is regarded as a talent which is used for witness to the Lord and as such any singer's song will be harmonious in His Ears.

Singers are organised on a county-wide basis which cross-cuts some of the denominational boundaries typical in the rural areas. For the most part, the denominations interconnected in this way are those with the longest history in the county. A /singing/ is held once a month, rotating among congregations of the denominations represented in the singers' association. The purpose is to provide entertainment for fund-raising. The singing described here was in lieu of the regular monthly church service of the congregation on Big Coal Creek - a congregation closely connected with the congregation at Alum Springs. Entertainers, audience and church officials and members arrived at the usual church meeting time, between 7 and 8 p.m. on the Saturday. Six quartets turned up. Before singing begins, the officers of the singers association make the standard announcement concerning whether

tape recorders were allowed (this is a controversial issue between fundamentalists and progressives in the churches) by the sponsoring church or not (it was allowed by this church) and a prayer in the format of the sponsoring church is given. The reason for the singing is announced: for the singing discussed here it was to raise money to help defray the rental fee on an iron-lung apparatus for a seriously ill member of the community, and a call for a collection was made. The collection plate circulates while the singing rounds were sung.

Quartets sing at least two rounds in the order of their arrival at the church. The round consists of singing two gospel songs, one slow tempo, one fast. In the first round, each quartet is composed of the singers who are members of the quartet in question. In the second round, one member of each quartet exchanges places with a counterpart in another quartet. These two rounds take up the normal time limit for worship services in this area: two hours. All groups stay until at least two rounds have been sung. At the close of the last round, the money collected has been counted and the amount is announced as it is given to the family members of the beneficiary of the singing. A closing prayer is given and before the gathering dispersed, it is announced that if a second fund-raising is needed the singers would be available again. Other occasions, besides illness, for which the singing is held are misfortunes such as a house burning down - things which can happen to anybody as one person explained it.

White Gospel quartet singing is a difficult mode to perform hence the entertainment value which is similar to that for competition country-and-western singing. Traditional white gospel style is reminiscent of the 1890's "barbershop four-part harmony" music-hall style. The four parts are lead (soprano), alto, tenor, and bass. The crucial voice part which makes the harmonising difficult and thereby worth

noticing is that the soprano part is a male voice part not a female part. The only female voice part is alto. Thus the lead singer as he is called, sets the octave range for the song - all singers sing in terms of his soprano.⁽⁴²⁾ The most popular voice quality for lead singer is someone who sings baritone. Thus the tremour noted in this style of singing is the result of often not being able to sing in one's own natural voice range. The first round of a singing often shows a well-practiced harmonising. Subsequent rounds are more interesting to the audience since these rounds will highlight the /natural singer/ as he, or she, will be the one who can harmonise with others with no prior practicing.⁽⁴³⁾

Publicly the focus is not on besting another group, but singing for God's glory. Privately, the natural singers are noticed and attention is also on their modesty or /big-headedness/ concerning their talent. Quartets also sing at religious services of their own denomination. The singing however is a mutual-aid service focusing on the residential community, not just limited to church persons in need of funds. It is considered a form of witness to the as yet unsaved in the community. White gospel style singing is not the only style heard at the singing. There is also developing modern "Hootenany" style "folksong" treatment of the tradition themes, often accompanied by guitar. This latter item is controversial in some churches. At this point let us return to the series of passage rituals, taking the

(42) "Vaughan's up-to-date Rudiments and Music Reader, Revised and Enlarged" (James D Vaughan, Cleveland Tenn, 1951) is used in the area to teach singers how to read shaped notes and count time so that they can sing from commercial white gospel sheet music.

(43) This is a crucial point to note for accounting for singer popularity of country-and-western singers in general and may be the key as to who becomes eligible for the Grand Ole Opr'y Hall of Fame in Nashville, Tennessee, the center for country-and-western music.

funeral first.

Summary: We have discussed the funeral, the cemetery homecoming and the revival - baptism - sacrament meeting sequence as three rites of passage, rather than five. This is because of the social entities relevant for the ritual(s). The funeral is of most concern to the immediate family and the community. The cemetery homecoming is significant only for the sets involved. And the three connected rituals in the religious domain exclusively all relate to incorporation in the congregation. This of course is the successful sequence. The unsuccessful revival does not lead to the baptism or the sacrament meeting. Also, the revival is the ritual with the greatest attendance usually in the local area although some funerals have been attended by large numbers of mourners because of the status or prestige of the deceased. The revival is the one public occasion where private details of a personal nature may be made public. This is of interest whether the revival is successful or not. And if successful, does provide some measure for evaluating the "validity" of the conversion.

We have omitted the burial. It is also a rite of passage, but it is not public. Unlike the funeral, it is totally within the religious sphere, as indicated by the presence of prayers to demarcate the rite from the secular. The funeral along with the three-day wake period before can be considered a datum source for noting the degree of integration of the family concerned in the community. The rites specified in this section are those of social prominence. By this criteria, the burial ranks along with the wedding as a private ritual. While both may involve a wider circle than the immediate couple or nuclear family, this involvement is the decision of the couple or nuclear family - it is not automatically in the public realm. At this point we turn to the main concern of this study: the religious

practices and organisation of the regional level.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have considered the kinship and religious systems in the local-level setting. Since the establishment of these neighbourhoods at the turn of the twentieth century, the subsistence economy has gradually declined until now residents must commute out of the neighbourhoods to various industries typical in industrial societies. The three inter-marrying clusters of sets are linked to three different congregations. These sets-clusters are also distinguished from each other in terms of the local status ranking. Occupational correlates with this status ranking is only beginning to be noted however. The congregations can then be viewed as possible contexts for inter-group rivalry. The focal point of the rivalry between congregations which is found, is upon the congregational activities. These are the primary concerns of the fundamentalist-progressive opposition in the community. The Copperhead Branch Church exhibits sermons which are the most anti-evolutionist yet has many progressive activities.

In terms of the incidence of religious ecstasy, the three congregations show marked differences in contrast to the ritual context where incidence of the rituals are common to the three (their content differs slightly however). The Alums Springs Church exhibits an absence of ecstasy for both clergy and the lay members. This is seen in the exclusively teaching style of the sermon and in the solo prayer. The Banshies' Hollow Church has a mixture of both the teaching and preaching sermon styles. This church also has unison prayer plus testimony.

These two items indicate religious ecstasy. The preaching style is restricted to the clergy however, and is occasionally seen in testimony when it indicates a person who is a candidate for the clergy. In the Copperhead Branch Church, this ecstasy phenomena is also seen. Here there is no restriction on who can experience it: both clergy and lay members both men and women. In the next chapter we look at the regional organisation which figures in the history of all three congregations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE REGIONAL LEVEL

INTRODUCTION

In the three sections in this chapter we describe and analyse the New Jerusalem Association, as the regional association (in which the Banshies' Hollow Church is subsumed) is called. Just as the Alum Springs Church broke away from this organisation to form a new smaller association, so did this Association break away from a previous one. In Section I we look into the organisation of this New Jerusalem Association and the history since its establishment in 1871. There have been three religious crises in this history, with a fourth still occurring during our field study in 1970-1971. There has been a growth of urban churches since the earliest church documentation available to us.

The primary effect this development has had on the Association is to increase the incidence of internal conflict at both the regional and local congregational levels. By dividing the documentation into two time-periods this can be more easily seen. Not only can the incidence of conflict increase be seen, but other shifts can be seen as well. The change in the topics stressed by the annual Circular Letter and the Opening Sermon at the Association meeting is shown over the two time-periods. Also, the tug-of-war between the congregations and the Association over ultimate jurisdiction can be seen in the seven polity items which feature prominently.

In the Section II on the Preachers, we discuss the competitive situation which is the norm for the Association. Preachers are the religious elite. Religious ecstasy is an important defining feature of the preacher. The preachers compete with each other to get the

various religious offices at both the Association level (moderator-clerk, evangelist, appointment to the Advisory and Examining Boards) and the congregation level (pastorships and preaching appointments). While it appears that their influence has lessened because they have declined in number since 1923 as delegates from congregations to the annual Association meeting, in fact their authority has been maintained if not increased. Preacher delegates receive the bulk of the Association work which is allocated during the meeting. The influence of urban pastors has increased out of proportion to their number. Pastorships are more often seen as single appointments across the two time-periods. That is, one preacher will pastor only one congregation rather than have such multiple responsibility as was often the case in the earlier time-period. These multiple pastorships when they occur also cross-cut the two groupings of congregations in terms of whether they hold the churchhomecoming rite or not.

In Section III, we look at these two groupings, which we call the Homecoming and the Non-homecoming groupings. Most of the churches which hold the church homecoming rite are also congregations which appear on one to three of the lists which indicate that there is internal tension within a congregation. Chi-Squared test is positive. The three items measured are disorder citations from the Association, the percentage of excluded members by the church, and the percentage of the unexplained enrolment drop from year to year. The exclusions are more numerous during the Religious Crises periods, as are disorder citations. Also during the crises periods the church homecoming rite is most likely to be cancelled. This rite seems to be an important one for the transmission of an oral tradition which prophecy most certainly is.

SECTION I

The /New Jerusalem Association/ Organisation, Jurisdiction, and History

The /association/ is one of many terms to refer to a federation of like-minded congregations affiliating in christian fellowship.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Different denominations use: /conference/, /assembly/, /presbytery/, and /synod/ to refer to this type of organisation. Within the New Jerusalem Association the terms conference and presbytery are used. The conference is used in connection with mission activities: the /Youth Group Conference/ and the /Sunday School Conference/. The presbytery is used to refer to the ministers who are called upon to participate in an Ordination, or who are called upon to investigate a doctrinal point in a congregation.

The New Jerusalem Association was established in 1871 and celebrated its centennial in the same manner in which it began - by being embroiled in a Religious Crisis. The original Jerusalem Association from which this association withdrew was established in 1870, as a new /arm/ of an Association in Kentucky.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The original divisive issue, coming only one year later, was over /open or close communion/. The withdrawing New Jerusalem Association preferred open communion, that is, members of the same denomination or individuals accepted as Christians could take sacrament together and were not restricted to

(44) See Maurice Goguel, 1964, The Primitive Church, London: Allen & Unwin Ltd. pg 175+ "Synods". These were spontaneous affairs originating with the need to ordain new ministers. These confederation-type religious groupings were referred to as 'union meetings' by Hooker (1933).

(45) This means that a previous association considered the churches leaving the association as christians in good standing.

their congregation of membership. The Jerusalem Association, currently comprising 10 churches, preferred a communion whereby the Lord's Supper was restricted to members of the same congregation. This issue is a result of the situation established at the beginning with this denomination. It was created as a merger between two other denominations, one practicing close communion, the other following open communion. The "solution" to the First Religious Crisis was to become two different associations within the same denominational framework.

We have access to documentary material for the subsequent religious crises.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The Second Religious Crisis began in the mid-1930's and was finalised in the mid-1940's. The issue was over the time of the spiritual rebirth - before, during, or after the full-immersion baptismal rite. The Alum Springs Church withdrew at this time, along with two factions from nearby churches. They created their own three-member church confederation, the /New Adam Association/. The New Jerusalem Association held at that time that salvation was confirmed through the baptismal ritual. The New Adam Association held at the time that it came at the point of conversion before baptism. Thus baptism was a symbol of rebirth not the mechanism by which one was reborn. During the field period it was observed that the baptism was considered to confirm the spiritual rebirth.

The Third Religious Crisis began in the late-1940's and ended with the stance taken in the mid-1950's against the anointing of oil

⁽⁴⁶⁾ In the 39 years of documentation which we have since 1923 there are several gaps. We have no documentation for years between 1924 and 1929, between 1929 and 1933, between 1933 and 1936, between 1957 and 1959, between 1959 and 1961, and, for some items, between 1968 and 1971. During the period since 1923 83 churches have been listed. In any given year however, the actual number of churches in association has ranged from 29 to 52.

to heal the sick. This issue as we have shown previously, is the divisive issue between the Bانشies's Hollow and Copperhead Branch churches. This will probably continue to be a dispute between the pastors of the two churches as long as neighbourhood residents not already in some church attend both churches to observe the development of the argument.

The Fourth period of crisis is still current. It began with a break-away group in 1965-1966 and in 1973 another group, number unspecified, publically requested that their churches be allowed to withdraw in good standing to create their own association. This decision is still pending, although preliminary results were available during the revisit of 1975. Four churches were involved. By this time we had analysed the correlation between churches with the churchhomecoming ritual and those with indications of internal conflict. Of the four churches, one was newly organised since our original field period, it had no church homecoming ritual. Of the three remaining, all were on the conflict list; two had the church homecoming ritual. The preliminary result of these four churches is as follows: the two churches without the church homecoming left, one church which left in the 1965-1966 crisis returned, and one church decided to remain in the association although a faction group left. The issue for both the 1960's and 1970's break-aways concerns the various concessions in the mission aspect of the church. The break-away group were against the development of the youth camp and of the relocation of the Tabernacle to the Youth Camp property.

The trend toward americanising the denomination was observed during the two Association delegates sessions, in 1970 and 1971, over the issue of separating the Foot-washing from the Lord's Supper during

the Communion.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In 1970 one church who made this separation because the young people were willing to take the Lord's Supper but not the Foot-washing, was censured by the Association. The pastor of this church thanked the delegates for their advice but said his church would continue to separate these two rituals. By 1971, two other churches had joined to support this stance. However, this had not been made public in the published annual report even though the delegates do report back to their home churches all that happened in the meeting. So people know about the issue. It is preached upon by allusion. But it has not been publically announced so cannot be discussed directly. Discussion in relation to scriptural support from the New Testament. The Sacrament Service itself has been discussed from this scriptural aspect in the Association, at both of the meetings we were allowed to sit in on. There is no scriptural basis, it has been argued, to necessarily combine the Communion with the Foot-washing. There is reluctance of the young people in towns to take part in foot-washing, and therefore in the sacrament service which is necessary for joining the church. Their religious peers at school single this ritual out for comment. Yet it is also generally noted who is a church member or not at the secondary school level. This problem of separating rituals into different contexts is of a different order when both are supported by scripture than when secular activities and organisation are the subject of discussion, especially

⁽⁴⁷⁾ We consider this trend one of "Americanisation" because only since WW II have these churches been influenced by churches where secular activities have routinely been a part of the church calendar of activities. The sectarian religious patterns B. Wilson (1966:Chapter 6 & 7) associated with the English context are much more similar to the stance toward the secular world of these groups than that of the larger American society within which this sub-region is subsumed. This Association is not yet a "denomination" by the standard criteria used by sociologists of religion on America. The Appalachian Region is considered by both residents and other Americans as "different".

when there is no scripture which can be cited in support. This may well develop into a fifth crisis for the Association. In what follows we describe the organisation and jurisdiction of the Association.

First, we present the order of worship for the services at the /association meeting/ when the Association meets for three days during August each year. Second, we order certain statistical data for the 39 years in terms of the topics as taken up over the several half-day sessions within the three-day meeting. The first worship service differs in only one respect from all the others over the three days. The delegates sent to the association from each congregation in the confederation retire to the /delegation hall/ after the singing, prayer and opening scripture-introductory sermon (in the /talking/ style). In Figure I we show the order of worship. There is no testimony or

/Association Meeting/

a
x
b-c (/talking/)
c (/preaching/)
d
e
f
i
g

Figure I: Order of Worship

unison prayer in these services. Also, the announcements do not concern specific individuals as they would in the regular church service but matters arising at the Association such as the parking of cars, directions to the camp where lunch is to be served, etc.

Friday Morning Session: In the delegation hall, after an opening hymn "Amazing Grace" - the only occasion where a hymn is ever sung and it is always this particular one - a scripture lesson is read. Letters

from the delegates, ideally three attending from each church with the status of /elder/, i.e. the preacher, or /deacon or deaconess/, representing each church are read and the delegates are seated. If there is /disorder/ in a given church, the report of the Association's investigating committee is heard, a vote is taken by the delegates, and if the vote is affirmative, these delegates are seated. (The significance of interval conflict is the subject of Section II) The organisation officers are voted on: these are the offices of moderator, clerk, treasurer, and their assistants (one each). Only then is the session opened with prayer - again solo rather than unison. The rest of the morning is taken up by reading through the rules of decorum, by forming committees to assure order is kept during the three days, and by selecting the preachers who will preach while the delegates meet. In 1971 this session also voted to pay the moderator and clerk \$100 per year and the treasurer, \$50 per year. In 1974 this session decided to restrict the term of the moderator to two years, consecutively, unless there was a 75% or greater vote from the delegates from a specific person to continue.

Among the delegates letters, /corresponding letters/ from other Associations and from the two mission activities which are organised into conventions are read and the delegates seated. Delegations are appointed to reciprocate the visits for the next year. Some of the visiting delegation, if preachers, are invited to preach during the worship services held concurrently with the delegation hall sessions. This is where inter-association and even inter-denominational co-operation is seen outside the cemetery homecoming context. This co-operation does not extend however, to any other activity at the association level. In Figure II we show the increase in the number of inter-association contacts. If we make a break at the mid-point in

the numbers of specific Associations visiting, it can be seen that for the pre-1954 period 77.9% of the visits were below the three-per-year incidence in contrast with 58.6% incidence at this level for the post-1953 period.⁽⁴⁸⁾ There are fluctuations especially at the times of Religious Crisis. During these periods, some visiting Associations leave, and others appear. After the crisis is resolved, some of the newly-appearing visiting Associations remain, some of the old-absent ones return. There have been eleven visiting Associations in all:

Visiting Number in a Year	Time Periods			
	Pre-1954 N(=16 yrs) %		Post-1953 N(=17 yrs) %	
1	5	31.2	1	5.8
2	7	43.7	2	11.7
3	3	18.5	7	41.1
4	-	-	3	17.7
5	1	6.2	2	11.7
6	-	-	2	11.7

Figure II: Association Visits

five continue to visit throughout both time periods, one appears only in the pre-1954 period, while five new ones appear in the post-1953 period.

In the early 1960's, there is attendance by the New Jerusalem Association at the newly created /National Convention/ of the denomina-

(48) The years 1953-1954 are taken as the breakpoint in terms of analysis over time. This date presents two changes in the way material was listed in the church group's published annual report. The items collectively titled "Church Covenant" in these report become entitled, in 1954, the "Constitution" and the "Articles of Church Government". One column heading, which until 1954 was "Sunday of Meeting", is changed to "Day of Business Meeting". We know from observation that some churches met only once a month and others four times a month for worship services. In the churches with four worship services per month, the original one service in the month becomes the meeting when the non-ritual business meeting is held after the worship service.

tion. This Association has since left the national convention for the same reason that congregations leave the regional association; the issue of centralised polity taking precedence over the Association (or the congregation). Of the eleven visiting associations, seven are from the Appalachian area and five from the Ozarks (63.5% and 36.4% respectively). Also, of the eleven, nine are from the same denomination and two from other denominations (81.9% and 18.3% respectively). In addition, three other associations from another denomination have been approached as to whether to correspond or not. It is to be noted that these Associations from different denominations visit during the crisis periods.

Friday Afternoon Session: Four items are discussed in this session: the Circular Letter, the appointment of the Evangelist, the Ministerial Meetings, and the membership of the ruling committees. When we compare the Circular Letters (36) with the Opening Sermons (19) where these are cited specifically by topic or scripture reference, there are six references to past crisis periods and one to the current one. The Circular Letters refer twice to the 1940's dispute; twice to the 1950's, and once to the 1960's. The Opening Sermons refer once to the dispute of the 1950's and once to the current 1970's one. These references occur during the actual break-point year during the dispute or slightly previous to these times - when the issue is either made public or is in terms of the resolution made. Overall, there are ten consistent themes which recur in the total set of fifty-five Circular Letters and Opening Sermons.

For eleven occasions there is focus on the theme of Salvation; seven occasions each on the Responsibility of the Ministry, the Duty of the Christian, and Christian Unity; six on Intercession; five on the Living Faith; four on the Church; three each on the Resurrection

and on the Christian Model; and two on Religion. In Figure III we show the break-down of these themes for the two time periods. There is little change in the focus on salvation between the two time

Topic Themes	Time Period			
	Pre-1954 N(=30) %		Post-1953 N(=25) %	
Salvation	6	20.6	5	20
Ministry	6	20.6	1	4
Christian Duty	3	10.7	4	16
Christian Unity	3	10.7	4	16
Intercession	4	13.5	2	8
Living Faith	4	13.5	1	4
Church	1	3.4	3	12
Resurrection	2	6.9	1	4
Christian Model	1	3.4	2	8
Religion	-	-	2	8

Figure III: Circular Letter and Opening Sermon Themes over two-time periods

periods. In the pre-1954 period, there is marked stress on the responsibility of the ministry and what faith is. In this time period as well, both prayer and anointing of oil were given as examples of intercession, with Christ cited as the ultimate intercession. In the post-1953 period, there is stress on the duty of the christian, what the church is and what religion is. Under the category of duty is one thematic treatment on tithing. This is noted specifically in regard to the problem of the Association in getting contributions from churches. The themes of Christian Unity always come during the crisis periods.

One image recurs in three of the categories (II Peter 1) - the seven graces of virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, kindness, charity. These are variously seen as the results of salvation, steps to a living faith, and duties of a christian. It would seem that the fundamentalistic moral code is most aptly seen as an

extension of virtue and temperance out of proportion to the other five graces. These two extensions have been singled out for Association comment. As models for a true christian, one comes from the Old Testament (Joseph) and one from the New Testament (the Samaritan). The aspects noted for both were kindness, charity, and patience. In the concern in the post-1953 period to define religion, care was taken to distinguish the revealed in other philosophies, as all other religions were called, yet to still stress the "true" religion which was rooted in Jesus' death, burial, and resurrection. In this time-period also, God was defined as the only wise God.

The church is defined as the whole of God's people, in the pre-1954 period, and in the post-1953 period as the baptised believers whose overseers are the pastors who will teach the members how to withstand temptation. The stress in the pre-1954 period is that the people need to be brought to realise that redemption by Christ's blood is available through faith so that this whole church of God's people may become manifest. This latter is variously referred to: a temple, a body, a house, a union with Christ by faith.

In the job of the perfection of the saints, as christians are also called, the ministers were to follow the two witnesses: the Old and New Testaments. In the pre-1954 period, where the focus on the responsibility of the minister is greatest, it is deplored that there are attempts to make it appear that God speaks to individuals directly. He speaks through the bible thus the rule for inspiration is study. The preacher's job is to cleanse the house of God of false worshippers - that is why the house of God is forsaken. In the post-1953 period later, the preacher is to note the difference between the baptised and those who are just listed as members. The Holy Ghost is given to the preacher by the laying on of hands which is the source of his authority.

It was noted that prophets had been used in the days under the law before John the Baptist, but Christ was the replacement for these. Later still in this time period it is noted that the preacher, prophets, apostles, and evangelists were to perfect the saints until all are united in one faith.

It is obvious that a change of some sort has taken place over the two time periods. We can see a shift in the concern from what the ministry is in the pre-1954 period and additionally what is evidence of faith and intercession to the post-1953 period concerns with what is religion, the church, and christian duty. Care was taken in one circular letter to point out that the text had been "sermonised" upon and that there was not merely the "stringing of scriptures together". This latter charge is often made by outsiders of this group. These outsiders also tend to call the majority of congregations and Associations like these, "hardshell". In this Association, this "hardshell" term is used to refer to the close communion Jerusalem Association and other close communion groups. Of the thirty-six Circular Letters this charge of stringing scriptures together is substantiated for seven, distributed between the two time periods as follows: three of eighteen in the pre-1954 period (16.6%) and four of seventeen in the post-1953 periods (23.5%).

Following the reading of the Circular Letter, the reports of the Evangelist and Treasurer are called for. New evangelists are appointed. There have been twenty-nine preachers appointed to this office over the thirty-nine years - for twelve years however no name was given. In addition for twelve years an assistant was appointed, as well. The evangelist has no other appointment as a ruling was made that having a pastoral appointment would disqualify a candidate. The duty of the evangelist is to go to any of the member congregations to assist in

the holding of revivals. Usually donations taken up at the revival meetings pay the expenses with the balance going into the Association budget. In the late 1960's however, donations did not even cover expenses. Thus in 1970, it was decided that the association would pay the evangelist a set sum per sermon. This particular item was not published in the minutes nor announced in the summing up session.

The third item discussed in the Friday afternoon session is the Ministerial meetings. Each year the question is raised whether these should continue. Every year they decide in the affirmative. Usually these are scheduled every three-four months. In 1968 it was decided to print the topics to be discussed in the annual report. In 1971, it was noted that there were three sets of meetings for the current counties⁽⁴⁹⁾ which comprise the Association's jurisdiction instead of one large ministerial meeting rotating from county to county. Only one, however of these three groups had met in that past year. In 1973, it was decided that ministerial topics were to follow the themes of the International Sunday School Literature.

The last item of business in this session is the election of the new member to replace a retiring member of the two permanent ruling boards, the Advisory Board and the Examining Board. The tenure of these two boards, unlike other association and congregation offices, is a set seven-year period. These two committees along with, in the post-1953 period, the Boards of Trustees for the Tabernacle and the Youth Camp are the power core of the Association. The Advisory Board is to assist churches with internal discension and to counsel on the

(49) While distributed over five counties, four of these counties have more than one congregation. Over the 39 years, there have been seven counties included in the territorial jurisdiction. Three of these have never had more than one congregation included in the association.

resolving of the disorder. In some cases, five additional members will be appointed for a temporary period in order to form a /Tribunal/. The Examining Board is responsible for reviewing new preacher candidates and any preacher against whom a doctrinal complaint has been made. In 1974, both Boards were empowered to remove a member if two consecutive meetings were missed for any reason. In 1974 as well, the Moderator was to have his own personal Advisory Committee.

The Boards of Trustees, comprising five members each, and composed of both preachers and deacons, are empowered to make financial decisions that concern the Tabernacle and the Youth Camp. The decision to sell and move the Tabernacle is basic to the current crisis. The crisis is not over the selling of the Tabernacle which all agree is too small but rather its relocation. The fact that it has been rebuilt (over 1973-1974) on the grounds of the Youth Camp has been taken as a definitive stance by those churches which are against any /progressive/ accommodation to the world in contrast to the traditional /fundamentalist/ ways. The original location of the Tabernacle was in the county which still has the majority of the congregations in the association. The new location is in the county which has the most progressive congregations. This county is a metropolitan county in contrast to the others which are rural. When it is noted that the only mention of the youth camp as an association project since the early 1950's, at which time it was narrowly defeated, has been in connection with creating a body which could serve as the association all year, one can understand a little of the emotion engendered by the subject. There had been corresponding letters to the youth convention. This was not seen as very different from the Sunday school convention however by many of the people in nearby congregations to our local-level congregation in this association. The Youth Convention begins visits from

1972, although they have been in informal attendance before this date.

Saturday Morning Session: This is the last delegation session. The reports of the Advisory Board and the Examining Board are given at this time. First, new churches are called for. These may be created by an existing church /giving off a new arm/ or by an established church already organised which wishes to affiliate with the Association. Also, mergers of congregations into one church are considered at this time. Here the minimum requirement is for twelve members, three of whom are deacons. There have been exceptions however. Churches having difficulty are also discussed at this time. The standard procedure is to have the Advisory Board investigate and report the following year. If the disorder is not resolved, the Advisory Board is given the task of trying to reach a reconciliation of all parties - these may be factions within the church or the church vis-a-vis the Association. If this reconciliation does not take place then the church may be given leave to withdraw from the Association or the Association may exclude the church. The church, if later changes are effected, can always petition to return. The Examining Board reports concerning the recommendation or not of preacher-candidates for ordination and on the sanctions meted out to preachers referred for assessment either doctrinally or morally. The sanction to be decided is whether their right to preach is to be withdrawn or not. The minutes of the total delegation sessions are read and amended if need be. The session is dismissed with prayer, again solo.

Saturday Afternoon: After lunch, the report is given to the Tabernacle for the benefit of those non-delegates who have come to visit.

Sunday Morning: This is the official end to the annual Association meeting. It is however, the most sparsely attended service. The largest attendance is for the Saturday afternoon summary report.

Specific Issues Decided Since 1923: The relationship of the Association to the affiliating congregations is summed up in one Article of the Rules of Government: "a church is deemed unruly if it refuses to be governed by the New Testament and the rules of the Association." Let us look at the specific items in the New Testament which a church is enjoined to follow. The Synopsis of Faith consists of twelve items:

1. We believe the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the infallible word of God. Given to man by inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 2 Tim 3:16; 2 Pet. 1:21.
2. We believe these scriptures to furnish an all sufficient rule of faith and practice for Christians in all the world. Rom. 1:17; 10:11; 12:14; Gal. 6:16; Phil. 3:16.
3. We believe Christians must look to the New Testament as their only rule of practice. Heb. 9:17; Eph 2:15.
4. We believe in one true and living God, in Jesus Christ His Son, and the Holy Ghost as revealed in the scripture of both the Old and New Testament.
5. We believe sin entered the world by the sin of one man (Adam) and death by sin and passed upon all. Rom. 5:12, 19.
6. We believe in the necessity of regeneration or begetting with the word of truth. James 1:18; John 1:1, 3; I Pet. 1:2,3.
7. We believe in the necessity of the new birth, as a means of entering the Kingdom of God. John 3:5; Matt. 7:21.
8. We believe that repentance and conversion are essential prerequisites to baptism. Acts 2:28, 3:19.
9. We believe this is accomplished by the faithful preaching of the Gospel Matt. 28:19, 20; Mark 16:15, 16.
10. We believe baptism to be the immersion of a penitent believer in water as a line of distinction between the world and the church. Mark 1:4,5; Acts 2:38, 8:36, 39; I Cor. 10:2, 12:13; Gal. 3:27.
11. We believe the Lord's Supper and feet washing are ordinances of Jesus Christ, and commanded by Him to be observed by His church till He comes again. Matt. 26:28,27; I Cor 11:23, 26; John 13:4-17; I Pet.2:21.

12. We believe in the resurrection of the bodies, both of the just and unjust and that the happiness of one and punishment of the other, will be alike - eternal. John 5:28; Acts 24:14; Matt. 25:46; I Cor. 15:20, 42, and 44.

As a perusal will demonstrate, these various items are those which Hooker (1933:43-44) noted as characteristic of the 'primitive' denominations and summarised in Chapter I, page 20. The Synopsis of Faith was the work of a committee appointed in 1929 and was accepted by the Association in 1931. It was enjoined as binding on all churches in 1936. In 1938 it was decided that ministers must sign the Synopsis of Faith before they could pastor a church in good standing. This was, however, repealed in 1939. The Second Religious Crisis was occurring at this time (The Alum Springs Church left the Association). In 1959, the Synopsis of Faith was again accepted but binding all, members and ministers alike. It has since been recorded in the Annual Report as a standard item.

In addition to the Synopsis of Faith, there have been seven issues of polity, one of morality, and one of mixed polity and morality. Let us take the seven polity items in the order in which they appear in the annual reports of the Association. The first polity item concerns the establishment of a /standing presbytery/, the Examining Board. This was done in 1937 with five members. In 1947 this board was increased to seven members. In 1939, it was decided that the church is to sponsor the preacher-candidate and that after he is successfully reviewed he is to be ordained by a presbytery which the church chooses. In 1941, the individual is allowed to choose his own ordaining presbytery. Also in this year, all preachers were asked to appear before the board and state when they held the spiritual birth to exist. Non-attendance meant automatic disqualification. This again, is during the Second Religious Crisis. In 1953, even deacons were to be re-

viewed by the Examining Board. In 1963 this deacon examination was relegated back to the church. In 1974, it was decided to have mandatory retreats at the Youth Camp for both ministers and deacons.

The second polity item concerns the establishment of the Advisory Board. This Board was established as a permanent seven-man committee in 1938. In 1940 this committee advised that only the pastor of the church, an ordained minister or a deacon had the right to conduct a church service. Previously, any church member could conduct service if no preachers or deacons were present. In 1944, they advised that the Sunday School Convention be organised and that a regular full-time evangelist be appointed. In 1947, it was decided that the church covenant should be made explicit. This was accepted in 1950, however, this covenant was again revised in 1953. This revision divided the document into two aspects, the Constitution and the Rule of Government. These documents specifically deal with the relation between the individual member, the congregation, and the Association. In 1965, the board advised that voting in the delegation hall could be extended only to those in fellowship, i.e. those in member churches and those from certain conventions. This is the time of the Fourth Religious Crisis. In 1968, the Sunday School Convention was recommended for fellowship status. In 1974, the Youth Convention along with the Sunday School Convention was allowed to have voice vote in Association affairs.

Of a total of 283 preachers over the 39 years of documentation, 45 (15.8%) preachers have been members of the Advisory and Examining Boards; 27 (9.5%) have been on the Advisory Board and 30 (10.6%) on the Examining Board; 12 of these 57 (4.2% of the total or 21.1% of the smaller groups) have been on both boards. There has been a shift in board composition in terms of progressive and fundamentalist

factions, since the mid-1950's. By the mid-1960's, over half of the Advisory Board are progressive affiliates. The Examining Board is still largely fundamentalist although since the early 1970's progressive appointments have been made.

The Moderator's personal Advisory Committee (in 1974) is made up of seven fundamentalist preachers. Five of these have been on both the Advisory and Examining Boards, one has been on the Advisory Board, and only one has had no such experience. This particular Moderator was a fundamentalist. The Moderator is the primary appointee for various Association offices so his affiliation is crucial. The late-1960's and early-1970's were times when the Moderator was of the progressive faction. This is the period when the Youth and Sunday School Conventions are extended voting rights. This is the time of the offer by the Youth Camp trustees of land upon which to rebuild the Tabernacle. A power struggle is becoming increasingly apparent. We do not know all the persons affiliated in the two factions, or if anyone is remaining unaffiliated. Those we know for certain we have observed in the local neighbourhood churches of our field areas. We will look at specifics of this interaction in Chapter V.

The third polity item concerns funds for running the Association. In 1945, it was demanded that churches send a donation to contribute to expenses. In 1946, this demand was modified to pastors being urged to have the churches send donations. In 1952, \$1 per member (the usual collection plate contribution in a worship service) is requested. In 1955 it is decided that a /freewill/ offering will be taken up as a regular item of business during the Association meeting worship services. We note here the Circular Letter recommending tithing as a duty in 1954. In 1971 a financial committee reports that a building fund ought to be established of a voluntary \$1 per Association member,

or to have the church make up the balance if all church members do not contribute. This money is to be sent separate from the traditional Association contribution. In 1974 it is moved that churches send a financial report of their annual income and expenses.

As well as the difficulty in getting money for Association business from churches, there is also difficulty in getting money to aid ill or retired ministers. In 1938, the Association decides \$5 per church will be sufficient for this purpose. In 1939, it is decided that each church will look after their own ministers. But by 1957 a committee is established with the express purpose of aiding aged ministers.

The fourth polity item concerns the decision in 1965 to allow only delegates into the delegation hall. Hence the subsequent need to make a public report. However, it is possible for non-delegates to sit in the delegation hall if there are empty seats available.

The fifth polity item concerns the attempt in 1965 to have the elected officers, the two permanent boards, the boards of trustees of the Tabernacle and Youth Camp be the association all year. This is annulled the following year. Any emergency means that all delegates are to be recalled. This attempt to create a standing body to represent the Association occurs during the Fourth Religious Crisis.

The sixth polity item concerns the desire for the history of the association and denomination to be written. In 1967 a committee is appointed for this purpose. In 1973, the history committee is empowered to delete any item from the annual reports deemed necessary in the summing up.

The seventh polity item concerns some issues also relevant in items four, five, and six above. That is, there is a lag between an issue being discussed and decided upon and when it is made public.

In 1945, for example, there is the call for the report as to why relations were severed with one corresponding association in 1938. In 1947, there is the transcript of the reply received in answer to a letter on behalf of the association sent to the President of the United States protesting an Ambassadorial appointment to the Vatican. No motion was recorded in the 1946 Annual Report concerning such a letter. The youth camp is defeated as an Association sponsored project in 1952 yet by 1965 it is specified as one of the boards to suggest as constituting the association all year. In 1967 the property for the new Tabernacle comes from a portion of the youth camp property. Yet no vote for the youth camp is ever recorded in the reports we had access to - although we must note it could have been done in the years 1958 and 1960 which are missing from our documentary sources. We observed discussions concerning the separation into two rituals of the communion and foot-washing in both 1970 and 1971 yet this has still not appeared in the Annual Reports. And only after hint by way of the Circular Letter in 1950 is there a decision announced in 1955 opposing the anointing of oil for the sick or for healing.

The last items in the relationship between the association and the member congregations concern explicit morality items. In 1951, it is decided that any minister or deacon who divorces and remarries will be investigated and will lose his religious standing. Any minister who performs the remarriage will be dealt with and may be sanctioned by having his right to preach removed. In 1953, it is decided that being unmarried is not a bar to being ordained. In 1961 the Association unanimously votes to send notice to the Governor of the State that the New Jerusalem Association is against the proposed liquor-by-the-drink law which was under discussion in the State Legis-

lature. This legislation was eventually passed, notwithstanding the advice proffered.

When these polity and morality items are related to the qualitative themes elucidated from the sermons and circular letters published, we can again see a strain between the Association and the member congregations across the two time periods. The strain toward authority being centered in the Association is apparent in both periods, but increasingly so in the post-1953 period. In Figure IV we note that the crises periods do not have the same impact in each county.

County	Selected Years: Six-Year Intervals						
(total N)	1938	1944	1950	1956	1962	1968	1974
A-enrolment churches (18)	911 7	\ 839 7	/ 1190 9	/ 1621 9	/ 2042 9	\ 1268 8	/ 1507 9
B-enrolment churches (17)	606 9	\ 209 4	/ 434 7	/ 673 8	/ 837 9	\ 711 8	\ 573 8
C-enrolment churches (27)	1618 16	/ 1629 20	/ 2300 22	\ 2097 22	/ 2172 22	/ 2284 20	/ 2456 20
D-enrolment churches (11)	151 1	/ 185 4	/ 677 4	/ 996 6	\ 985 6	/ 1002 6	/ 1104 6
E-enrolment churches (10)	12 1	/ 58 1	/ 74 1	\ 73 2	/ 104 3	\ 51 2	/ 58 1
Total enrolment churches (83)	<u>3298</u> 34	<u>2920</u> 36	<u>4675</u> 43	<u>5449</u> 47	<u>6180</u> 49	<u>5316</u> 44	<u>5697</u> 45

Figure IV: Distribution of Religious Crises

Counties A-E are listed in order of distance from a metropolitan centre located on the border of counties A and B, but primarily located in county A. County E is in fact a category which includes single congregations in three other counties which, however, never associate at the same time with the Association as well as those of unknown location. The Second Religious Crisis affects County B for the most part, but

County A as well. The Third Religious Crisis affects County C and D. The Fourth Religious Crisis is the most general, affecting Counties A and B and some from category E. In 1944, the Tabernacle is located in County C. It is relocated by 1974 in County A. The observed visible economic base for each county is shown in Figure V. The

Accessibility	County	Visible Economic Base
most accessible	A	manufacturing/refining/farming
	B	mixed manufacturing/refining/ farming and mining
	C	manufacturing/mining/farming
most isolated	D	mining

Figure V: Economic Base of County, approximate

The counties are listed in terms of distance from the metropolitan centre in County A. The Counties are in both the Highland Rim and North East Cumberland Plateau sub-regions of the Appalachian Mountains.

The internal conflict is not only noticed for the Association from documentary sources, it is observed in the interaction between the /preachers/ as well. Documentation is also available for these religious practitioners who are the subject of the next section.

SECTION II

The /Preachers/

In Section III of Chapter III above, we noted that for the Banshies' Hollow Church, one of the member congregations in the New Jerusalem Association, religious ecstasy was restricted to the preachers. Only for testimony is it allowed for the church members.

Lewis noted that for the Central Possession Religion such constraint on who was allowed access to ecstasy was a hallmark of the religious elite. This was in addition the idiom through which these religious officiates competed with each other for authority. A characteristic here is that there are more aspirants than positions available. In this section we discuss the prerequisite needed for an individual to become a preacher, four aspects of the religious-work, and the characteristics of preachers who have left this association during the religious crises.

Reliance on the /call/ is the notable prerequisite for becoming a preacher. 15 (5.3%) preachers had also been deacon delegates to the association before becoming ordained. We have no evidence on how many had been deacons in order to determine if this status is a necessary preliminary. The call is visible through extended testifying at revivals. That is, testifying becomes a mini-sermon where the short typical testimony of faith becomes a half-hour discourse. It is also visible by the individual testifying during regular church services in this extended fashion. The person has to find a sponsor, however. This he does, or attempts to do, by going to the places where his favorite preachers are hoping that one will take him as an "apprentice". If this happens, over a three or four year period, as he gradually learns the bible by rote and as he is given more and more chores assisting in the conducting of services, his impact will be assessed - primarily in terms of whether persons under conviction answer his invitational plea to come to the altar. Finally, his home church of membership is urged by the sponsoring preacher to petition the Examining Board for a review.

When this is granted, the candidate goes forward to be examined both on his memory of scripture and on his /preaching/. The Examining

Board will decide if he is ready to be ordained. If not, he returns to his sponsoring church, and preacher, for a while longer before re-petitioning the Board. If the decision by the Examining Board is that he is ready, he returns to his church and chooses the presbytery he wishes to have ordain him. We have already discussed the ordination service (in Chapter II, Section III) and the changes made in terms of who has definitive choice of the ordaining presbytery (in Section I above). The patronage aspect after the apprenticeship training remains an unexplored area. For once ordained, the new preacher has to get regular Sunday preaching appointments and eventually a pastorate as well as be chosen a delegate if he wants to be completely involved in the Association.

In terms of the total number of preachers, 82 (29%) have only been ordained. Another 65 (22.9%) have only pastoring experience. 112 (43.1%) have been involved in the association level whether pastoring or not. An important office in the Association in terms of building patronage is that of evangelist. This person is allowed to travel to any congregation in the Association, or corresponding Associations, to help conduct revivals. During the initial field study, the moderator, a member of the progressive faction, allocated this office to himself, giving up a pastorate to do so. At this time there was internal dissension over the selling of the Tabernacle and relocating it on the Youth Camp grounds. On the second revisit, this office was held by a newly ordained preacher who had no pastorate experience yet whose ordination we observed at the Indian Fort Church. In any case, the new preacher wants to avoid being talked of in the following manner: /Poor thing, he just can't hardly get started seem like/, as was overheard regarding another recently ordained preacher.

It is also possible to be a church clerk before becoming a

preacher. Of the total number of preachers, 17 (6%) had previously been clerks of congregations. The complexity of the religious background is seen more dramatically when we look at our three local-level congregations, only one of which is still in the New Jerusalem Association. The preacher of the Copperhead Branch Church had been a clerk in another congregation in the Association before he became ordained in a different denomination. In addition, one of his members had been a delegate from another congregation in the New Jerusalem Association.

One of the members of the Banshies' Hollow Church has been a delegate to the Association from two different churches before becoming a delegate from this church. To be a delegate however one must be a deacon or deaconess first. The deacon is responsible for the congregation's funds and in emergencies can officiate at a Communion Service. This Banshies' Hollow delegate had claimed to be a preacher but had no preaching credentials (he has become listed as ordained since our main field visit). He was called the /quoter/ because he quoted scripture along with whoever was preaching. He would not accept challenges to preach however, during our 14 month field visit.

There are four aspects of the religious work. There are the Examining and Advisory Boards. There is the total Association work, both religious and non-religious, allocated to preachers and delegates. There are the different backgrounds of the delegates. And there are the pastoral appointments. Let us look at the two governing boards first.

Examining & Advisory Boards: The job of the Advisory Board is to intervene and arbitrate in churches having internal difficulties or to aid churches having difficulty getting a pastor. The Examining Board's jurisdiction is to assess the competence of preacher candidates. There

has been a shift in board composition in terms of the progressive and fundamentalist factions. The composition changed during the mid-1960's for the Advisory Board, although the Examining Board during this decade was still fundamentalist. Taking the composition of these two boards by the appointments of 1974 currently just under half of the members on this board are from the progressive faction. These particular persons have previously served on the Advisory Board. In Figure I we show the distribution of these preachers in terms of the location of their 1974 pastoring appointment. If we compare the back-

	City	Town	Rural	
County	N	N	N	N
A	1	-	2	
B	-	1	1	
C	-	1	3	
D	-	1	2	
No appointment	—	—	—	<u>1</u>
Total	1	3	8	1
Percentage of total	7.8%	23%	61.7%	7.8%

Figure I: Pastorate Location of 1974 Examining and Advisory Board Members.

grounds of these pastors with the total distribution of all churches ever in the Association, we find that the weighting of the urban churches for these board members is above that for the total sample. 7.8% of these pastorships are in city churches while only 3.6% of all churches are in city; 23% of these pastorships are in town churches while 16.2% of all churches are in towns; and 61.7% of these pastorships are in rural churches while 68.6% of all churches are in rural areas (8.4% of the churches are of unknown location but which quite likely are rural). The Board members' urban focus is even slightly

above the breakdown by Homecomings shown on page (Two of the thirteen board members are from the Church Homecoming grouping.). We know the factional affiliation of the 1974 Board members. All four pastorates in the urban areas are held by preachers who are in the progressive faction, while half of those held in rural areas are in this faction.

Allocation of Association - Level Work: In Figure II, it can be seen that the percentage of work allocated to preachers at the Association level has declined somewhat in the two time periods.

Percentage given work	Pre-1954		Post-1953	
	N	%	N	%
55-64.9	3	15	6	34.7
65-74.9	9	45	7	41.6
75-84.9	4	20	4	23.5
85-94.9	4	20	-	-

Figure II: Preachers Allocated Work

In Figure III, the percentage of work done by preachers can be seen to be slightly greater in each time period than the percentages of preach-

Percentage work done	Pre-1954		Post-1953	
	N	%	N	%
60-69.9	3	15	1	5.8
70-79.9	2	10	8	47.1
80-89.9	9	45	8	47.1
90-99.9	6	30	-	-

Figure III: Work Allocated to Preachers

ers given work. That is, even with less work done by preachers in the post-1953 period there is indication that preachers are getting increasing control over the work distributed. (This can also be seen

in the year to year distributions as tabulated (in Tabulation I a & b Appendix D, pg. 297 - 298). In this tabulation it can also be seen that for thirteen years, eleven in the post-1953 period, work allocated has included other preachers than those sent as delegates. Six of these eleven years occur since 1965 - the year when so many churches left to form a new Association.

The work to be distributed includes not just appointments to the Advisory and Examining Boards to the Association, but also, appointments to the Boards of Trustees for the Association's property, the delegates to the corresponding associations and conventions, the evangelists and offices of moderator, clerk and treasurer, and the committees on preaching and keeping of order during the three-day meeting. Women, as deaconesses, have only really begun to get Association work allocated in the post-1953 period. However, they usually are concerned with the visiting of other Associations and Sunday School Youth Conventions. Their involvement declines somewhat once these latter two organisations are given voting rights in the Association's affairs.

In Figures IV and V (from Tabulation Ic, Appendix D, page 299) it

Percentage of Deaconesses given work	Pre-1954		Post-1953	
	N	%	N	%
1-4.9	3	15	1	5.8
5-9.9	4	20	9	52.9
10-14.9	-	-	2	11.7

Figure IV: Deaconesses Allocated Work

can be seen that while their involvement has increased over the two time periods, it remains low. This contrast between the preachers and the deaconesses is relevant when it is realised that together these

Percentage work done	Pre-1954		Post-1953	
	N	%	N	%
1-4.9	5	25	7	41.1
5-9.9	2	10	5	29.4

Figure V: Work Allocated to Deaconesses

two types of delegates constitute $1/4$ to $1/3$ of the delegation in any year.

Preacher-Delegates and Deaconess-Delegates: In terms of the change over the two time-periods, preachers have declined as delegates while women have increased, see Figure VI (from Tabulation II, Appendix D, page 300). Since the work allocated has increased over time, this decline in the proportion of preacher-delegates is in part an explanation for the allocation of work to preachers not sent as delegates.

Proportion of Delegation	Pre-1954				Post-1953			
	Preachers		Deaconesses		Preachers		Deaconesses	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0- 5.9	-	-	6	28.5	-	-	-	-
6-10.9	-	-	6	28.5	-	-	2	11.7
11-15.9	2	9.5	5	23.8	8	47	10	58.8
16-20.9	4	19	4	19	9	52.9	5	29.4
21-25.9	8	38.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
26-30.9	4	19	-	-	-	-	-	-
31-35.9	2	9.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
36-40	1	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figure VI: Delegations to Association: Deaconesses and Preachers

The change seen over the two time periods when the distinction is made between the Church Homecoming and non-Church Homecoming groupings indicates a difference in church background for the two types of dele-

gations. (50)

Figure VII (from Tabulation IIIa, Appendix D, page 301) contrasts the difference between the proportion of preacher-delegates sent by these two groupings. The grouping of those congregations who do not

Pre-1954 (N=21)					
Proportion of -Preacher delegates	Church Homecoming		non-Church Homecoming		
	N	%	N	%	
0-10.9	-	-	13	61.9	
11-20.9	5	23.8	2	9.5	
21-30.9	10	47.6	3	14.2	
31-40.9	6	28.5	2	9.5	
41-50	-	-	1	4.7	

Post-1953 (N=17)					
0-10.9	-	-	5	29.4	
11-20.9	16	94.1	6	35.2	
21-30	1	5.8	6	35.2	

Figure VII: Preacher Delegates to Association by Homecoming Groupings

hold the church homecoming show an increase in the proportion of preachers sent as delegates over the two time periods in contrast to those which hold this ritual. The most dramatic increase for deaconess-delegates is shown for the congregational grouping which does not hold church homecomings, see Figure VIII (from Tabulation IIb, Appendix D, page 302). The convergence in the total sample of the deacon-

(50) These groupings, to be discussed in Section III below are made in terms of whether congregations hold this annual ritual or not. 75% of the congregations listed as churches in disorder, which have excluded 20% or more of their members, or which have unexplained enrolment decrease of 20% or more have held this ritual; 84.7% of these congregations have had these difficulties.

ess-delegates with the preacher-delegates is provided for the most part by the congregational grouping without church homecomings. The only

Pre-1954 (N=21)				
Proportion of Deaconess -delegates	Church Homecoming		non-Church Homecoming	
	N	%	N	%
0-10.9	12	57.1	10	47.6
11-20.9	9	42.8	4	19
21-30.9	-	-	6	28.5
31-40.9	-	-	1	4.7

Post-1953 (N=17)				
0-10.9	4	23.5	2	11.7
11-20.9	13	76.4	2	11.7
21-30.9	-	-	5	29.4
31-40.9	-	-	4	23.5
41-50.9	-	-	3	17.6
51-60	-	-	1	5.8

Figure VIII: Deaconess Delegates to Association by Homecoming Groupings

impact of the increase of deaconess-delegates in terms of work allocated, concerns the deaconesses from this grouping which does not hold the church homecomings. All of the work allocated to deaconesses has gone to them. The deaconesses are never allocated more than 8.4% of the work, however Preachers, whether delegates or not are never allocated less than 60% of the Association's work.

Deacons, Deaconesses (the wife of a Deacon), Elders (ordained preachers) and Bishops (pastoring preachers) must satisfy the requirements set down in First Timothy 3:1-12. The elders and bishops must in addition satisfy the requirements set down in Titus 1:1-16. Specifically, deaconesses must be grave, sober, not slanderous, and faithful in all things. Deacons, Elders and Bishops must in addition

not be greedy of filthy lucre or be covetous, must be husbands of one wife, must rule their own children and their houses well, and hold the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. The Elders and Bishops must also be patient, not easily made angry, be vigilant, not self-willed, given to hospitality, apt to teach, be of good report lest they fall into reproach by those outside the church, and not be a novice so that pride can be avoided. The conditions specified by Titus for the bishops and held binding on elders as well, to be ordained in every city, that order be established in things wanting it, that one be just, holy, and of sound doctrine in order to exhort and convince the gainsayers. The duties of the Deacon and deaconess concern the church funds and conducting communion in an emergency when no elder or bishop available. The duties of the elder and bishop are to conduct baptisms, funerals, and communion.

Pastoral Appointments: There are roughly two ordained preachers per church, yet approximately only 1/3 of the possible number actually available at any time pastor a church. In terms of actual experience, 182 (64.2%) of the preachers have pastored. This includes 12 (4.2%) preachers from the corresponding Associations. In Figure IX (from

Proportion Pastoring	Pre-1954 (N=22)		Post-1953 (N=17)	
	N	%	N	%
26-30.9	1	4.5	-	-
31-35.9	7	31.8	4	23.5
36-40.9	11	50	9	52.9
41-45	3	13.6	4	23.5

Figure IX: Proportion of Preachers Pastoring

Tabulation IV, Appendix D, page 303) we can see the breakdown of the preachers pastoring in relation to the personnel available to pastor.

The range is between 28.6% and 43% for the entire documentary period.

There is also the phenomena of one preacher pastoring several churches. This phenomena has decreased over the two time periods, see Figure X. By the field period, these multiple appointments in-

Duration of Different Appointments				
Time-Period	Single N	2 Appoint'ts N	3 Appoint'ts N	4 Appoint'ts N
Pre-1954				
Maximum N=22	22	22	21	14
Post-1953				
Maximum N=17	17	17	9	1

Figure X: Decline of Multiple Appointments by Type in Two Time-Periods

volve only two pastorships. Before 1952, the majority of churches in any year are distributed in multiple appointments. After 1957 the

Percentage of Single Pastorates	Pre-1954 (N=22)		Post-1953 (N=17)	
	N	%	N	%
20-29.9	5	22.7	-	-
30-39.9	9	40.9	1	5.8
40-49.9	8	36.3	2	11.7
50-59.9	-	-	3	17.6
60-69.9	-	-	5	29.4
70-79.9	-	-	5	29.4
80	-	-	1	5.8

Figure XI: Increase of Single Pastorates

majority are distributed in single pastorates. The years between 1952 and 1957 are inconsistent from year to year (see Tabulation V, Appendix D, page 304). It is impossible to break the pastoral appointments down in terms of the two Homecoming groupings because the multiple appointments cross-cut these two analytic groupings. These

groupings are statistically correlated with internal conflicts in terms of this church homecoming ritual versus its absence. The fact that preachers pastor at the same time in both "types" of churches can account for the fact that there are some churches in the grouping holding church homecomings which are never indicated on the lists for conflicts 7 (15.2%), and that there are others, 6 (20.6%) in the congregational grouping without this rite which have been listed. Competition between preachers can be seen in Figure XII below. Here for

Preachers Experience	Total Association		Those Leaving Association	
	N	%	N	%
ordained only	82	29	11	25.2
ordained-pastor	65	22.9	12	24.9
ordained-association	17	6	8	16.6
ordained-pastor-assoc'n	105	37.1	17	35.4
other*: pastor only	10	3.5	-	-
pastor-assoc'n	2	.7	-	-
assoc'n only	<u>1</u>	.4	<u>-</u>	-
Total	283		48	

*Preachers of corresponding associations involved in religious work of the New Jerusalem Association.

Figure XII: Preacher Involvement

two groups of preachers, the total ever in the Association and a subgrouping which has left, all items of the background of the preachers are similar but for one. This is the background of ordained preachers with work allocated at the Association level. A higher percentage of preachers leaving have this background in comparison with the total number of preachers. Of the 48 whose preaching credentials had been recalled, 5 (10.4%) left in the 1940's, 5 (10.4%) in the 1950's, 20 (41.6%) left in the 1960's, and 7 (14.5%) in the 1970's with the remaining 11 (22.0%) scattered over the entire period since 1923.

At this point let us summarise the main points. Of the total number of preachers in the association, 82 (29%) have been ordained only, 182 (64.2%) have had pastoring experience, and 122 (45.2%) have been involved in association level work; and 48 (16.9%) have left. The proportion of preachers among delegates has decreased markedly over the two time periods. Decline in the amount of work allocated to preachers is very slight. Deaconesses increase their proportion among total delegates even more markedly than the preachers have declined, gaining at the expense of the preachers. There has been little impact on the allocation of Association work, however. The increase in deaconess-delegates is discovered to come from congregations not holding the Church Homecoming ritual and who are allocated, in fact, all of the work given to the deaconess-delegates.

Over the two time periods, the incidence of multiple pastorates has declined so that after 1957 the majority of congregations are single pastorate churches. There has been a dramatic decrease in the kind of multiple pastorates so that by the field period in 1970, multiple pastorates in both time periods cross-cut the two congregational groupings, concerning the homecoming rite.

SECTION III

The /Church Homecoming/

The Church Homecomings begin after the 31st of May (Memorial Day) and last until shortly before Thanksgiving Day (Third Thursday in November). In terms of worship service, the Church Homecomings are like the Association opening service format. The Alum Springs and

Banshies' Hollow churches in our local-level neighbourhoods hold these services. The Alum Springs church follows the same format usual for regular church services. The only difference is that the service is mid-day rather than evening. This time difference holds also for the churches holding church homecomings in the New Jerusalem Association. The Alum Springs church homecoming is also the final day of the small three-member New Adam Association which is also called a /protracted meeting/. The Banshies' Hollow Church follows the New Jerusalem Association opening service format even for the regular worship services.

The Church Homecoming is followed by a revival - a sequence we have noted for the Cemetery Homecoming. Both the Church and Cemetery Homecomings reflect the fact that migration elsewhere for jobs is a routine life experience. Living elsewhere is not however the most significant aspect so that these services are not just reunions of dispersed community members. Decisions to hold a homecoming are taken locally. Solidarity with a specific group of people is still important, although local residents do not need to be reunited with their community in the way that migrants do. Members whose residence and work is outside the community are sources for new ideas and issues when they return, whether temporarily or permanently. This may account for the origin of the progressive faction noted for the group as a whole even for the pre-WWI period.

The oral history pin-points the turn of the century to the 1920's period as the period of greatest enthusiasm for social change. The "progressiveness" stressed is in terms of adding activities typical of the "American Way of Life". In terms of the community as a whole, the focus was on the establishment of the secondary school for the county. In the religious sphere this focus is on youth and women's groups,

Xmas plays, etc. The traditional moral prescriptions are not the issue in the opposition of fundamentalists and progressives. The contrast between the rural and urban is shown here. In 1923 there was only one church in an urban area. Figure I shows that since this

Groupings							
	Homecoming			Non-Homecoming*			
Location	City N	Town N	Rural N	City N	Town N	Rural N	N
County A	3	-	6	-	2	7	-
County B	-	3	7	-	2	5	-
County C	-	5	15	-	1	6	-
County D	-	2	5	-	1	3	-
Cos. E	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
? Location	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Total N	3	10	33	0	6	24	7
% of Total groupings	6.5%	21.7%	71.8%	-	16.1%	64.8%	18.9%

*Eleven of these (29.7%) left the association before 1936 (incls. ?? location)

Figure I: Distribution of Churches

time, the number of urban churches has increased to nineteen. Half of the town/city congregations are in counties A and B, the more urban counties, in contrast to counties C and D. The majority of the town/city congregations are in the Homecoming grouping.

We have broken the total sample of 83 churches into two mutually exclusive analytic groupings of 46 and 37 churches in terms of whether the church homecoming ritual was ever held or not. The congregations holding this ritual we refer to as the Homecoming grouping; the congregations without this rite plus those for which this information is unknown we refer to as the Non-homecoming grouping. The reasons for this is the high statistical correlation of this ritual (84.7%) with

those churches which have been found to have internal conflict. This conflict is visible in three ways. First, there are the citations for disorder at the Association level. Second, there is the explicit listing of statistics for excluded members at the congregation level. And finally, there is the listing of enrolment at the congregation level which can be compared with statistics of members joining and leaving - there is seldom exact tally. We know that members have only one obligation to the congregation - to share in the financial support. As long as such share is contributed, the member is listed as enrolled.

The correlation of the two groupings with internal conflict is as follows. 84.7% (39 of 46) of the Homecoming grouping show internal conflict to some degree in contrast with only 35.1% (13 of 37) of the Non-homecoming grouping. Figure II shows the allocation of all the

	Groupings					
	Homecoming		Non-Homecoming		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Internal Conflict	39	46.9	13	15.6	52	62.6
No Internal Conflict	7	8.4	24	28.9	31	37.3
Total	46	55.3	37	44.5	83	99.9

Figure II: Allocation of Ritual with Internal Conflicts

83 congregations in terms of these two variables. The results of the Chi-Squared test is shown in Figure III. 52 of the 83 congregations are listed on one or more of the three indices of conflict. Because the congregations on these lists constitute the majority of the congregations holding church homecomings, we have done a Chi-Squared test to evaluate whether the correlative association between these two analytic groupings is greater than chance. This test is significant

($\chi^2 = 18.3$) at the .001 level with one degree of freedom. The Church rite has been officially recorded in the Association documents only

	Internal Conflict	No Internal Conflict	N
Homecoming Grouping (expected frequency)	39 (28.8)	7 (17.1)	46
Non-Homecoming Grouping (expected frequency)	13 (21.4)	24 (13.8)	37
Total	52	31	83

Chi-Square is 18.3 with one degree of freedom at .001 Significance Level where minimum value is 10.83

Figure III: Results of Chi-Squared test of the Church Homecoming Rite and Conflict Lists.

since 1952. All congregations for which this datum is unknown - these include churches leaving this Association or disbanded before 1952 - have been allocated to the grouping of congregations which do not hold homecomings. This was done so that the comparison groupings would be similar in size. Chi-Squared test is still significant ($\chi^2 = 32$) at the .001 level of significance with one degree of freedom when all unknowns are grouped with the churches known to hold the church homecoming ritual (see Appendix D, Tabulation VI, page 305).

Figure IV shows the incidence of the 52 congregations on the three conflict lists. There is an important difference between the two groupings in terms of the visibility of the internal conflict. The majority (69.2%) of the non-homecoming grouping's churches occur on only one list while the majority (69.2%) of the Homecoming groupings churches appear on two lists. Nearly half of the non-homecoming grouping churches 46.1% (6) appear on the enrolment drop list compared with 10.2% (4) of the churches of the Homecoming grouping. These ten

congregations include two churches newly organised after our field trip of 1970-71 but which had left by our re-visit in 1975. These two

Homecoming Grouping N=39					
Congregations on	Disorder citations	Exclusions	Enrolment drop	Total	
	N	N	N	N	%
All 3 lists	5	5	5	5	12.8
2 lists	2	27	25	27	69.2
1 list only	2	1	4	7	17.9

Non-Homecoming Grouping N=13					
Congregations on	Disorder citations	Exclusions	Enrolment drop	Total	
	N	N	N	N	%
All 3 lists	1	1	1	1	7.6
2 lists	1	3	2	3	23
1 list only	1	2	6	9	69.2

Figure IV: Summation Index of Internal Congregational Conflict

were among the anonymous group of churches discussed in the Association reports as wishing to leave the New Jerusalem Association.

In Tabulation VII Appendix D (page 306) we list the two most important church statistics: the exclusions and the baptisms. These are given year by year. Only in 1964 and 1966 are the exclusions greater than the baptisms. Generally the number of churches baptising is twice as large as the number of churches excluding members in any year. In Religious Crises periods the ratio narrows so that baptisms are only 1/3rd more numerous than exclusions.

There have been fourteen citations concerning twelve churches over the thirty-nine year documentation period. 64.4% of these are in the pre-1954 time period. In Figure V, a dramatic decrease of disorder citations for the non-homecoming grouping can be seen between the two

time periods. The Homecoming grouping incidence of disorder citation

Time-Periods	Groupings			
	Homecoming N	Non-Homecoming N	Total N %	
Pre-1954	5	4	9	64.4
Post-1953	4	1	5	35.6

Figure V: Disorder Citations Association Level

is spread fairly evenly across the two periods. In the post-1953 period, however this grouping has 80% of all the citations.

Congregations with any incidence of exclusions and enrolment drop calculated as greater than 20% are listed as indicating existence of internal conflict. In terms of explicit exclusions, both groupings show an increase of exclusions in the post-1953 period, see Figure VI. When compared in terms of time-period, see Figure VII, the

Time-Periods	Groupings				Total N %	
	Homecoming N	%	Non-Homecoming N	%		
Pre-1954	27	30.6	4	40	31	31.6
Post-1953	61	69.3	6	60	67	68.3

Figure VI: Exclusions by Two Groupings

Groupings	Time-Periods					
	Pre-1954 N %		Post-1953 N %		Total N %	
Homecoming	27	87.1	61	89.7	88	89.8
Non-Homecoming	4	12.9	6	10.3	10	10.2

Figure VII: Exclusions by Two Time Periods

bulk of the exclusions are even more visibly noted as pertaining to the Homecoming groupings. By contrasting the exclusions with the occurrence of enrolment-drop it is possible to infer that members absent themselves from their financial obligations in particular years.

The dramatic decrease in the incidence of enrolment-drop for the

Time-Periods	Groupings					
	Homecoming		Non-Homecoming		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pre-1954	26	43.3	12	70.5	38	49.3
Post-1953	34	56.7	5	29.5	39	50.3

Figure VIII: Enrolment-Drop by Two Groupings

non-homecoming grouping of churches can be seen in Figure VIII. Where the focus is on the time periods, Figure IX shows that the incidence

Groupings	Time-Periods					
	Pre-1954		Post-1953		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Homecoming	26	68.4	34	87.2	60	77.9
Non-Homecoming	12	31.6	5	12.8	17	22.1

Figure IX: Enrolment-Drop by Two Time Periods

of enrolment-drop is a characteristic primarily of the Homecoming grouping. Drop-in-enrolment generally preceeds exclusions and disorder citations by one-two years.

The range of the incidence of exclusions was from 20% to 66.5%; the range of the incidence of enrolment drop was from 20% to 87.4%. When the clustering of years with large numbers of churches indicated as having internal conflicts is noted, there are four periods isolated:

1940-1942, 1954-1959, 1964-1966 and 1971-1973. In the pre-1954 period for the total sample, the number of clustered churches ranges from 5-8 churches; in the post-1953 period, the range is 11-16 churches.

The incidence of peak years can be noted in other ways. The years which were noted both at the Association and from discussions of the past were 1941 and 1964. The years for which notice is seen only at the Association level are 1956 and 1957. There is in addition, an unexplained loss of churches from the Association, in contrast to members enrolled, in 1948: 6 churches (16.1% of the total) leave with no discussion as to why. At the local-level in 1948, there was a disturbance in the Alum Springs Church over the name of the church not being biblical in origin. While some of the break-away faction went to the Banshies' Hollow Church, which also does not have a biblical name, most of the break-away faction shifted their membership to the church located at Indian Fort which does have a biblical name. The incidence of churches with biblical names is in general low for both

Name of Church	Groupings					
	Homecoming		Non-Homecoming		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Biblical Name	11	23.9	9	24.3	20	24.1
Non-biblical Name	35	76.1	28	75.7	63	75.9

Figure X: Origin of Names by Two Groupings

the Homecoming and Non-homecoming groupings, see Figure X. In Figure XI, however, it can be seen that there is a difference for the two groupings across the time periods. The majority of the biblical names for the Homecoming grouping appear in the pre-1954 period while

	Time-Periods			
	Pre-1954		Post-1953	
Biblical Names	N	%	N	%
Homecoming	10	90.9	1	9.1
Non-Homecoming	2	22.3	7	77.7
Non-Biblical Names	N	%	N	%
Homecoming	30	85.8	5	14.2
Non-Homecoming	27	92.6	2	7.4

Figure XI: Church Names by Two Time-Periods and Two Groupings

the majority of biblical names for the non-homecoming grouping appear for the new churches organised in the post-1953 period.

One of the ways that churches develop is to sponsor a new branch, or /arm/, in a new location. All three churches created in this fashion, along with six of seven churches releasing members enabling them to join a new arm, are churches which are listed at some time on the lists for exclusion and enrolment drop.

In terms of the church homecomings which have been discontinued,

Time Periods	Cessation of Homecoming			
	Discontinued		Held Off-and-On	
	N	%	N	%
Pre-1954	14	30.4	4	8.7
Post-1953	13	28.2	6	13

Figure XII: Discontinuance of Church Homecomings: Permanent and Temporary

or held off and on, for the total sample, all the rites which have been discontinued ceased during the peak Religious Crises periods in the

1950's, 1960's, and 1970's. Temporary discontinuance has increased in the post-1953 period, see Figure XII. The actual number of

	Crises Periods					
	1950's Issue		1960's Issue		1970's Issue	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Church Homecoming Discontinued	19	41.4	6	13	5	10.8

Figure XIII: Number of Homecomings Discontinued during Religious Crises Periods.

Homecomings discontinued, which remain discontinued, has declined, see Figure XIII.

The Church Homecomings are additional occasions to the Association meeting to discuss and spread new ideas on organisation and doctrine. The relationship between the homecoming sermons and the regular sermons preached throughout the winter when the attendance is lowest points to an important context for studies of oral tradition patterns and processes since the religious prominence upon prophecy highlights this mode of transmission.

The sermon given as Appendix C was preached at a Church Homecoming. The importance of this particular sermon is that it provided an interpretation of scripture which became the issue which was preached and discussed over the next year in the churches in the rural area which includes the local-level congregations of this field study. We have presented this sermon so that the audible contrast between the preaching and teaching portions of the sermon can be distinguished. The image of the number seven, which is familiar in the seven graces theme we have already discussed, is in this sermon associated with man's having God's /complete number/. That is, man, the five senses,

and the spirit of God (see lines 15-20 of page 288). This passage is in one of the two extended preaching passages. These particular seven items are reminiscent of the Pelagian Heresy of the early British Celtic Church⁽⁵¹⁾ where man was held to have seven faculties: sight, sense, taste, hearing, feeling, good, evil. In the Appendix C sermon it becomes clear that the "man" refers to the earthly part of the human which is capable of sin while the spirit of God is that part within which is not capable of sin.

In one of the teaching portions of the sermon (lines 31-37, page 293) the preacher brings up the issue of tithing which we have seen has been discussed unsuccessfully at the Association level. The preacher here is concerned with the congregational level and what the money thus realised could be used for - stressing here a link between faith and works. None of the rural churches we visited took up this issue from the sermon although some of the few town churches we visited are concerned with this issue, also in the teaching portion of the sermon. Whether this issue will ever be preached upon only time will demonstrate. The hesitancy of the rank-and-file members concerning any expansion of hierarchy development is familiar from the European Reformation.

In general it seems that if there is internal disruption, the homecoming rite is discontinued and it may or may not be held again.

(51) For other religious patterns which are reminiscent of the Celts, see Myles Dillon & Nora Chadwick, The Celtic Realms, 1973, London: Cardinal, especially Chapter 7 "Celtic Religion & Mythology" & the Literature of the other world (pg. 173-201), & Chapter 8 Celtic Christianity and its Literature", (pg. 202-256). These include gods represented as 3-headed, or in groups of three, oral transmission of religion although writing used otherwise; Gods of rebirth; trance and visions; worshipping in wooded areas; the existence of everlasting souls; and confederations of religious communities for both the christian and pre-christian eras. Only the monastic tradition is lacking.

The Banshies' Hollow Church's activity as observed indicates that if a homecoming is held after having been discontinued it signifies a different body of specific membership. These congregations can not be viewed as corporate entities which continue no matter what happens internally to the organisation. The continuance is only from crisis to crisis. When a group actually breaks up and re-groups itself, the continuity is broken and this seems to be symbolised at the level of the Homecoming ritual.

SUMMARY

The history of the New Jerusalem Association includes several crises periods. Documentary evidence indicates that unresolved polity is a crucial issue. There is a trend towards more centralised decisions although there is yet a strong counter-tendency stressing confederation polity. The conflicts in the Association are correlated especially with the Church Homecoming rite which seems to be more than an annual reunion of dispersed members. This rite seems to symbolise a particular group of individuals. Discord splits the group, thus the Homecoming rite is discontinued and may or may not be held again. It seems that when it is held again that it indicates a new group under the same congregational name.

One important source for discord comes from the fact that there are more preachers than religious offices for them to fill. Another comes from the development of a more elaborated social stratification system in the larger society in the Highland Rim Appalachian sub-region, thus giving rise to progressive and fundamentalist factions.

Also, city/town churches have been established especially since WW II. In the next chapter we see how these various aspects affect the interaction and events at our local deviant congregation in the Association.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE OF THE /DYING/ CHURCH -

AN EXTENDED STUDY OF THE BANSHIES' HOLLOW CONGREGATION

The Banshies' Hollow Church, in the neighbourhood residents' view, in 1970-1971, was a dying church. Other churches in the area considered it to be in need of /spiritual revival/. It diverged in several ways from the normal patterns in the Association. This church showed up on all three indices of internal conflict: disorder citations, exclusions and unexplained enrolment decrease. This congregation was among those with a history of cancelling church homecomings at one time and then holding them again at another time. The regular worship service format was the formal one of the association meeting, although unison prayer was held, rather than the format typical of the other congregations attended which were in the same Association. Of the Association's churches located in County B, this congregation had the only progressive pastor. In six of the eight incidents to be presented in this Chapter, the progressive-fundamentalist opposition looms large.

The gentle eddying in the flow of events of the first half of the field period was transformed by mid-winter to the tumbling current of a rapids. The church calender began with a Sacrament Meeting after the Association Meeting held annually in August. The Sacrament Service of this progressive pastor is held in months with a Fifth Sunday. This service has been described in Chapter II, Section IV. The format is like that in other congregations in the Association. Only the conducting on Fifth Sundays is unusual. After the Sacrament in the early autumn, little else develops until the Youth Group after

Thanksgiving (third Thursday in November) agrees to present a Christmas Eve nativity play.

INCIDENCE ONE: The Two Nativity Plays

The pastor as Banshies' Hollow attempts to repeat the initial success of his first year pastorying this congregation from the previous year. He decides to have the Youth Group present a Nativity play on Christmas Eve. The year before he had been able to get some of the local children, whose parents are not church-members, involved subsequent to the Christmas nativity performance. They began coming to the Sunday School and Youth Group. This year, however, events turned out differently. The Christmas Eve Nativity production never got off the ground.

On the three Fridays prior to Christmas Eve, rehearsals were announced. Only on the first rehearsal Friday did enough participants attend. Eight parts plus a choir group were needed. The man called the Quoter in the neighbourhood came this night to watch. He objected to the use of the record player to provide music for the choir and narrator although this had been done the previous year. Parts were distributed notwithstanding and rehearsal proceeded.

On the second rehearsal Friday, the persons with parts came. Rehearsal consisted of reading through the parts and co-ordinating the scriptural passages and hymns with the scenes in the play. The Quoter was again in attendance. This week he objected to the substitution of a guitar for the record player. There was verbal support from others present for the pastor.

On the third Friday, the last rehearsal night, only five persons came, mostly those related to the pastor. As a result there was no rehearsal. There was discussion however of what to use for costumes - sheets, bathrobes, scarves and sandals. This discussion took up most of the evening.

On Christmas Eve, we were told, as we were unable to attend, only the persons who were in the play came. A prayer meeting was held instead. It is later learned that the pastor of the Copperhead Branch Church had written a Christmas Play some years earlier and his church decided to perform it on Christmas Eve as well. This play (we were given a copy of the script) used the Nativity as a vantage-point to anticipate Easter rather than dwelling upon the Nativity scene per se. The Banshies' Hollow play was known to be a repeat of the previous year, so the neighbourhood turned out to attend the Copperhead Branch presentation.

The Quoter is a fundamentalist who joined the Banshies' Hollow Church the previous year - changing his membership from the Indian Fort Church. This was the third church he has joined since his conversion. He is called the Quoter because he quotes scripture along with preachers during their sermons. The pastor of the Copperhead Branch Church is, like the Banshies' Hollow pastor, a progressive. The nativity plays are considered in the community to be progressive activities. The effect of the challenge by the Quoter over the music accompaniment, also a progressive item was the rapid decline of the Youth Group.

INCIDENT TWO: The Singing Schools Mix-up

The persons in the Youth Group wanted to learn to sing the traditional White Gospel Spirituals. As attendance had dropped during the Christmas Play rehearsals, the pastor decided to help the group revive by arranging a Singing School. He called upon a member of the Copperhead Branch Church to teach because this man was the only local resident who knew how to sing these songs from printed music.

One week later the Indian Fort Church ten miles down the road announced the beginning of a singing school. This school was directed by one of the Association's best singers (he has a baritone range voice). This director is also one of the Association's officers. The Youth Group at one of the city churches decides to attend the school as well. This entails a near two-hour drive for them to get to the Indian Fort Church.

After the second week of the Indian Fort Singing School, the Banshies' Hollow youth decided to attend. This is in part because of the director's background as a singer and in part because of the attendance by the youth from the city church.

During the singing school at Indian Fort, one of the members at this church offered to donate a piano for both choir practice and church worship use. The offer was refused. The person offering the piano changed his church membership since the piano had belonged to his deceased wife and he considered the refusal a criticism of her. The wife of the Banshies' Hollow Church's pastor, also a member at Indian Fort, decided to change her membership as well. Thereafter the attendance which had quickly built up to some forty people began to drop. By the

fifth meeting, of eight planned and announced, attendance was so low the director cancelled the rest of the sessions.

When the youth group from Banshies' Hollow switched attendance to the Indian Fort School, the abandoned director at Banshies' Hollow was asked to conduct a singing school at his own Copperhead Branch Church. This congregation has a piano and also no objection to guitar accompaniment. The congregation has given so much support to this singing school that it has developed into a regular practice activity. The Banshies' Hollow Youth Group never revived.

The man asked by the Banshies' Hollow pastor to direct the Youth Group singing school was from the progressive church in the community. This singing director, like the Copperhead Branch pastor joined this denomination while working in the coal mines in County D. The Copperhead Branch pastor no longer works in the mines while this church member still commutes on a weekly basis, returning to the local community only for week-ends. The director of the singing school at Indian Fort is one of the fundamentalists in the Association. The city youth group however comes from a progressive church in the Association.

The Banshies' Hollow youth go to Indian Fort not only to learn to sing white gospel spirituals from one of the more reknown singers in the region but also to socialise with the city youth group. There are two differences between the Banshies' Hollow and the city youth groups. First, the Banshies' Hollow group includes persons whose ages range from eleven to early thirties, the city group includes only teenagers and young adults. Second, the Banshies' Hollow group includes both those who have been saved and those who have not yet been saved; the city group is restricted to those who have been saved.

The Indian Fort Church is one of the largest rural churches in the Association in any county. The city youth decided to come visit this fundamentalist church in order to get some of the youth from this

church to go to the Youth Camp. The Indian Fort Church is one of the staunchest opponents of the Association's religious camp. The objections to the camp were that the sleeping quarters were co-ed, that girls were allowed to wear shorts, and that there was a swimming pool. None of the opponents at this church have ever been to the youth camp. The objections raised turn out to be a case of mistaken identity. There were two religious camps near each other, the Association's and an ecumenically supported one. This latter camp does indeed have a swimming pool, allows girls to wear burmuda length shorts, and the housing while single sex within a cabin were clustered in terms of age groups so that boys' and girls' cabins were in close proximity. The Association camp had no swimming pool, only tolerated slacks, and the housing in barracks was segregated on either side of the common buildings. The activities at this Association camp were those familiar in Bible and Sunday Schools with the addition of revival services in the evening for the unsaved youth attending the camp. The city youth group provided a /scholarship/, i.e. paid the way, so that a youth at the Indian Fort Church could attend the Youth Camp and observe for him- or herself what went on there.

We can see in the events during the singing school, that when objections were raised by fundamentalists concerning something progressive, attendance begins to decline. The challenge here was again over musical accompaniment. The progressive individuals leave the congregation over the issue.

INCIDENT THREE: The Rival Revivals

The last session of the Indian Fort Singing School co-incided with the beginning of a revival at Banshies' Hollow. The revival was announced well in advance by the pastor who had hoped to have a youth choir ready by this

time. He could not anticipate that his youth would shift to another singing school. Yet he was not able to cancel the revival. A revival, announced at very short notice by Shoals Branch Church a few miles down the road, was scheduled for the same Friday. The usual nights to begin a revival, however, are Saturday, Sunday or Monday.

The Banshies' Hollow Quoter was prominently featured in the Shoals Branch revival. The scheduling of the two revivals and the singing school on the same night meant people would have to choose which church to attend. Testifying and singing both are duties enjoined on members both at their home church and at any others.

The Shoals Branch revival was scheduled to conflict with that at Banshies' Hollow. Normally when churches in the same association announce revivals the attempt is made not to schedule one in a neighbouring church too soon afterwards or at the same time. Members of congregations in the same association are expected to visit and testify.

When the unusual is anticipated, it is held that the non-member, or sinner may become curious and so be enticed into church. The raised expectations of what might occur meant that the first night at Shoals Branch revival was very well attended. It even drew away members from the Indian Fort Church who normally are not interested in other congregations. Neighbourhood residents know that Shoals Branch and Banshies' Hollow are rivals. The action of the Shoals Branch Church involving the Quoter was a sensational one in the community. Since preachers do not exhort in public places, as was the case during the Second Greak Awakening of the last century, nor support independent revivalism, there is little other way to entice the unsaved into church to hear the Word preached.(52)

Meanwhile, through lack of attendance at the Banshiess' Hollow Church this revival is cancelled. This revival was being conducted by one of the younger men who had apprenticed himself to the Banshies' Hollow pastor in order to get his basic grounding. He was nearly ready to be examined. The revival was to have been a prelude to his examination. With the cancellation, his application for examination by the Association Examining Board was postponed.

The Quoter was to conduct the opening unison prayer. This became a mini-sermon extending beyond the prayer he was leading. The locals' curiosity was such to draw crowds, of

(52) The Association does have a half-hour radio service on Sunday mornings, but it does not include a preaching sermon - only a talked mini-sermon and there is no testimony - altogether a format more similar to a middle-class denominational service than any other of the Association congregations various rituals.

over 150 in a church accommodating only about 100, for the first week of this two week revival. On the first occasion when the Quoter attended his own church afterwards, he got a sermon preached at /those people who don't support their own church's work/. He had not been participating at his church because the pastor did not let him.

The rivalry between the Shoals Branch and Banshies' Hollow Churches originated during the Gas Disputes in the late 1960's. These disputes were a result of the War-on-Poverty community-project activity. These projects were to focus on neighbourhood improvements felt by the residents of neighbourhoods to be needed. The improvement desired in these neighbourhoods was to have domestic gas available to everyone. The county would not provide such service because these neighbourhoods were too far from clustered settlements to justify the cost. The residents could not afford to pay the costs for such link-up either. The focus of the activity in the neighbourhoods was then directed to those persons locally who had gas-company wells on their property.

There were four companies who had drilled wells in the area. All provided gas free of charge to the owner of the property where the well was located. Some companies had deeds which gave them ownership of the minerals found on the property, others had deeds which gave them usufruct of the land to get to these minerals. Thus different companies had different public relations policies in terms of the way they treated the property-owner. The former deed was so limited that property-owners' co-operation was sought by necessity; the latter deed gives the property-owner no rights to interfere with the company so the company does exactly what it wants regardless of the effect on the property-owner.

If gas was provided for the neighbourhood, then the property-

owner would no longer get the gas free but have to pay for it along with other residents. Another bone of contention was whether the pipeline would be provided for everyone or only those who could pay for it. These differences provided ample scope for dissension in the community and this was reflected in local congregations in different ways.

The credibility of the Banshies' Hollow Church in the community was low because the action taken during the gas disputes by individual members of the controlling faction was not consistent with the christian charity preached. The members of this faction whose members had gas wells located on their property, were not willing to let these be used as part of the community pipe-line. The church split over this issue and even came to the notice of the Association. Some members left never to join any church again, others left to join Shcals Branch. Since the new faction gained control, the attendance and membership has dropped.

The gas dispute at Alum Springs at the same time had a different result. There the church members took the stance that they demonstrated they were christians by the decisions taken that more affluent members would cover the cost of the pipe-line installation for the less well off. The few members who disagreed left the church. Some literally left the community. Others changed church affiliation to New Jerusalem Association Churches. One of the men who became a Banshies' Hollow deacon, left Alum Springs during this time because he was not made a deacon there.

INCIDENT FOUR: The Feuding Deacon

A feud was renewed in late March between another of the deacons at Banshies' Hollow and his neighbour. The issue was over a boundary line between the two properties. The deacon's sister, a non-church-member, was at the same

time having difficulties with her neighbour, a distant cousin of the deacon's neighbour. Several years previously one of the workers of the deacon's neighbour shot the deacon in the hand. Since then other incidents happened. This new incident whereby someone had driven along side the deacon's vegetable patches and sprayed them with weed-killer led to the deacon leaving the church and going back into the world. Many in the neighbourhood feel that this particular incident, among others, have not been done by the neighbour but by community /no-goods/ who just want to provoke trouble.

The deacon has not only resigned his deaconship but /withdrawn his membership/, that is he has become a /backslider/ into the ways of the world. He felt that he /just wasn't able to be a good christian when his family was endangered and he needed to be free to protect them/. As he carries a rifle when he does his chores, it seems obvious he felt constrained by the proscription on fighting for a deacon.

His wife also left the Banshies Hollow Church. Unlike her husband, she joined another church - the Copper-head Branch Church. The pastor of this church is an affine of the ex-Banshies' Hollow deacon's neighbour.

When confronted face-to-face, the two feuding men behave with utmost courtesy to each other.

The concept of backslider generally has an image more of laziness in terms of ceasing to attend church after the revival or of insincerity in promising to adopt a more ascetic life but however never getting around to giving up old ways. Here however, it appears much more in the realm of conscious decision. Given a choice between protecting his family with the limitations imposed especially of the deacon status with an unsaved opponent and with protecting his family on the same basis as his opponent, the feuding deacon has chosen the latter. To what extent his position as head of his extended family, yet one with no adult children yet is involved we do not know. However, it is unusual for a young man (twenties and thirties) to come into the church. It is much more typical for the transition to be made in the forties - a time when there are adult children in the set.

The ex-deacon's wife made a most tactful switch to the Copperhead Branch Church. She wanted to learn to sing white gospel spirituals but was unable to go to the Indian Fort Church after the singing school at Banshies' Hollow was cancelled. She began attending the Copperhead Branch Church for the singing school. With the renewal of the feud between her husband and an affine of the Copperhead Branch pastor, she began attending worship services as well.

INCIDENT FIVE: The Healing Service Mistake

This event has been mentioned in Chapter Three in terms of the lack of contrast between the New Jerusalem Association ordination service and the Copperhead Branch sacrament service. The pastor at Banshies' Hollow, after the feuding deacon left the church, visited the Copperhead Branch Church. He was invited to help conduct service, which he did.

Midway through the service it became clear that the service was not an ordinary worship service, but a sacrament service as someone had requested healing. What began as a friendly visit now had much more serious consequences for the Banshies' Hollow pastor. Nothing was said during or after the service however by anyone.

At the next worship service at Banshies' Hollow however, the pastor delivered a scathing attack on the misuse of the laying-on-of-hands rite which was meant only to transmit the blessing of the Lord to a new preacher by the established colleagues of his choice. To let people think that the rite could heal was blasphemous. The attendance at this service was not very large.

By the next week however, a larger crowd attended because by this time the reason for the sermon was known throughout the neighbourhood and beyond. The pastor from the Copperhead Branch Church attended and defended himself during testimony. Another pastor, from a church in the original Jerusalem Association was also in attendance. Again the objections to the healing service was preached. The Copperhead Branch pastor took advantage of the announcements period at the end of the service to announce the beginnings of a revival at this church and to invite everyone to attend.

The only other progressive pastor in the immediate area is the

one at the Copperhead Branch Church. The pastor at Banshies' Hollow has co-operated with this pastor in revivals, as well as inviting the Association evangelist, this office at the time was held by a progressive, to conduct revivals at Banshies' Hollow. There was no precedent to expect anything untoward with the invitation to help conduct the worship service. When it turned into a Sacrament service, the ruling of the Association in forbidding the anointing of oil and healing of the sick meant that the situation was more ominous in its consequences for the Banshies' Hollow pastor than just visiting in another denomination's churches. He could be disqualified from preaching in the Association. Since this service was held just after his feuding deacon withdrew his membership and this ex-deacon's wife switched to the Copperhead Branch church, the Banshies' Hollow pastor may well have been trying to get these two individuals back into the church, specifically his church.

INCIDENT SIX: The 'Woman's Lib' Exhorter

Following a sermon preached in May at the Banshies' Hollow Church by a visiting preacher which was on the theme that man was made for God, woman for man, one of the active woman members who has been both clerk of the congregation and a deaconess-delegate to the Association meetings went into trance.

This possession was not during the testimony period of the service which is the usual place for church-members possession. This occurred at the end of the worship service during the invitational. She gave a half-hour preaching on the point made in the visitor's sermon that women had lower status than men in terms of grace.

The point this woman, called an independent woman locally, took up concerned the division of man-having-been-made-for-God's-glory, woman-only-for-man's which had first been preached locally by at a Church Homecoming the previous summer (this sermon is recorded in Appendix C). She had been /studying/ on this problem since that church homecoming and did not feel God thought so poorly of women. She gave as her evidence the fact that Christ

had been born of Mary not Joseph. If God had been convinced that a man had been worthy enough to give birth to His Son, then God would have made it possible for a man to have given birth. He was powerful enough. As Mary gave birth to Christ, this indicated that she had been judged the most worthy person. Thus this independent woman called on preachers to stick to the Bible and not to what they wanted to hear.

This is only one example, albeit a very dramatic one, of the tendency of the lay members to check out what they hear in sermons with Bible study. If they find no scriptural precedent, they speak out, occasionally during the sermon itself. This woman, among several in this congregation, wanted to have deaconesses appointed by the same criteria by which deacons were assessed. That is, on their own individual religious merits. Currently, deaconesses can be appointed only if their husbands have been made deacons first. The women in this congregation point out that having a wife or not is irrelevant for a man to become a preacher or a deacon; nor is having an unsaved wife a bar. However, a woman no matter how religious can not be made a deaconess if her husband is unsaved or is not a church member in good enough standing to be appointed a deacon. Even the progressive pastor at Banshies' Hollow is resisting this change in how deaconesses are appointed.

INCIDENT SEVEN: The Church Homecoming Cancellation

The Banshies' Hollow Church decided at the last minute in June to cancel the Church Homecoming (during the second summer of our field visit). It was still officially listed however so some members of association congregations came to visit. No food was brought and no special preacher invited.

The preaching preacher was the one having the regular appointment for that Sunday. This particular preacher in fact was not even a member of an association corresponding with the New Jerusalem Association much less another

preacher ordained in the Association. This fact was not well received by some of those visiting who felt while a church could do what it liked at any other time, the Homecoming should be conducted /properly/.

While the Banshies' Hollow Church cancelled their Homecoming, the Shoals Branch Church which several years before had discontinued theirs announced that they would begin to hold homecomings again.

The main recurring theme of the Church Homecoming, in scripture readings and white gospel spirituals, though not necessarily the sermon, is that of the prodigal son's return home. At the Church Homecoming the usual "visitors" are church members, or families of church members, who reside elsewhere for work or someone who is a member of another church in the Association. Although we do not know how many church members are actually living elsewhere so cannot attend church except once a year because enrolments are never listed by name, we do know that several preachers are listed as living elsewhere indicating why they are not active: In 1974, of 117 preachers listed, 10.2% (12) live outside West Virginia: 6 in Ohio, 2 in Florida, 1 each in Missouri, Maryland, Michigan and Kentucky. What percentage of the association enrolment live and work outside West Virginia so that they return home only during the Church and Cemetery Homecomings, we have no way of ascertaining.

The preacher who conducted this Homecoming service had a regular preaching appointment. He was also a progressive. A preaching appointment is not the same thing as a pastoral appointment. The pastoral appointment requires the pastor, or bishop as he is also called, to focus on the welfare of the congregation. The preaching appointment merely obliges a preacher to always show up to preach the first, second, third, or fourth Sunday of each month. A fifth Sunday will always be the responsibility of the pastor. The main objection

to the preacher at this Homecoming was not that he was progressive or fundamentalist, but that he was not a member of an Association church or from a group corresponding with the Association. His progressive stance did seem to have something to do with the fact that he alone of the preachers with preaching appointments at Banshies' Hollow came regularly. And when he did, the Quoter always quoted scripture passages with him during the sermon.

INCIDENT EIGHT: Changing the Bishop

On the last business meeting in July before the Association meeting, each congregation decides who they want as pastor, or Bishop, for the coming year. All pastoral contracts are of one year tenure though renewable. Also, preachers wanted for regular preaching appointments are discussed at the same time.

The Banshies' Hollow pastor's contract was not renewed. The new pastor was given tenure from that business meeting on. The normal practice is that new tenure takes effect after the Association meeting. The outgoing pastor did not know he had been replaced and was surprised to find the new pastor preparing to preach before his own contract was officially up.

While the two preachers worked out a combined service that Sunday, the outgoing pastor did not return to the Banshies' Hollow Church after this. For some months after he lost his pastoral appointment, he returned to preach at the Copperhead Branch Church.

During the field study period, there was irregular attendance by most of the appointed preachers to preach at the Banshies' Hollow Church. Only the progressive preacher from another denomination regularly attended to his preaching duties. The other preachers selected by the congregation were fundamentalist. These three men attended so irregularly and infrequently it seems that this could be considered a boycott. One of these preachers was the director of the singing school at Indian Fort who was so offended by the revival

announced at Banshies' Hollow. Given the situation that he did not attend to his preaching duties at Banshies' Hollow he may well have assumed that the progressive pastor scheduled the revival on a Friday as an attempt to draw away attendance. The lack of predictability of a preacher showing up, meant that those members who wanted to hear particular persons and who had difficulty arranging transport would also not attend. If no preacher shows up, no service is held, only a prayer meeting. The pastor was not regular in his attendance either. He himself had a preaching appointment in another church outside the local area but had not told his congregation of this. He let them assume he was on swing-shift work those week-ends.⁽⁵³⁾

Postscript 1975

During our 1975 revisit, it seemed that a shift of the controlling faction in the Banshies' Hollow Church has taken place. The current pastor, a local resident, is a fundamentalist preacher; the Church Homecoming, though not yet announced officially, had just been held for the first time since our initial field study in 1970-1971; and enrolment was increasing. The Quoter, who had claimed to be a preacher during our initial visit but who had neither accepted challenges to preach nor showed any preaching credentials, is now listed as a preacher in the Association. One of the persons leaving Alum Springs during the gas disputes is now also listed as a preacher in the New Jerusalem Association.

In terms of the initial field period, the Banshies' Hollow Church was considered deviant by both residents, who referred to the congregation as a dying church, and by the Association which considered

⁽⁵³⁾ Swing-shift is a rota of a two week day-shift period alternating with a two week night-shift. Once a month in the change over from, or to, a day-shift and a night-shift, there will be a continuous 16 hour work period. This work arrangement is the most highly paid compared with the two night-shifts and the day-shift.

it a congregation in need of spiritual revival. By the field visit of 1975, there are indications which call for a review of this assessment. While we do not have adequate information, the changes we do know about indicate that it may no longer be a deviant congregation. More data is needed to definitively affirm or refute this interpretation of the holding of the church homecoming rite again, the fundamentalist pastor (not the same one as in Incident Eight above however), and the increase in enrolment. The criteria by which assessment was made by both residents and the Association, and which a review should utilise, seems to be on a contrast between action and belief, as seen in Incident Three. An example of this contrast at the individual level is seen in Incident Four.

Quite apart from the assessment of deviance, the opposition

Incident	Progressive	Fundamentalist
Between denominations	1-nativity play 4-feuding deacon 5-healing service	
Between congregations in Association	2-visiting youth	2-singing school 3-rival revival
Within congregation (Banshies' Hollow)	7-cancel church homecoming 6-woman's lib exhort	8-new bishop 6-deaconesses
Post-Script 1975		pastor church home- coming held

Figure I: Distribution of Incidents
Progressive versus Fundamentalist Stances

between progressive and fundamentalist issues appears to be the routine process of preacher and congregation interaction. In Figure I the distribution of incidents is in terms of the progressive or fundamen-

talist stances involved. The progressive pastor at Banshies' Hollow finds kindred progressive fellow-christians at Copperhead Branch, a congregation however not in the New Jerusalem Association. This situation leads to some competition over the persons each congregation is trying to attract into their respective congregations. It also leads to the awkward situation for the Banshies' Hollow pastor when he finds himself involved in a ritual his association has prohibited.

The fact that he is the only, if not the first, progressive pastor in the churches of the Association in County B, leads to action which can only be regarded as censure by other preachers, viz boycott of preaching appointment duties, and other congregations, viz incidents Two and Three. In Chapter III, Section II, Figure I and Chapter III, Section III, Figure I the distribution of churches in terms of rural-town-urban location and the church location of preachers on the Examination and Advisory Boards can be seen. When it is noted that the development of fundamentalist associations affects County B to a greater extent than any other county in the association - the Jerusalem Association in 1871 from which the New Jerusalem Association broke-away, the New Adam Association in the 1940's and the current new Association of the 1960's-1970's which also includes some churches from County A - then the situation of the progressive pastor at Banshies' Hollow makes more sense. He tries to find like-minded persons, hence the co-operation with revivals at Copperhead Branch, the co-operation of the progressive singing school director from Copperhead Branch, the preaching appointment to a progressive preacher in a non-corresponding association, the progressive evangelist in the New Jerusalem Association conducting revivals.

It is noticeable that attendance declines when conflict comes in to the open. The decline in attendance at nativity play rehearsals and

the decline at the Indian Fort singing school begin when the progressive-fundamental opposition is brought into the open. Some persons leave the church over the resolution taken (some never to return to church, some merely changing to a different congregation), some return after the resolution after the issue is resolved. Conflict can also attract persons as well. The difference seems to be on the saved-unsaved distinction. The public, both saved and unsaved, are the focus of the advocates of the progressive and fundamentalist positions. Both are seen utilising the ecstatic idiom. This is the unifying element between the Copperhead Branch and Banshies' Hollow churches and the Indian Fort and Shoals Branch churches. All are subsumed within a prophetic tradition, the first two are progressive the latter two are fundamentalist, however, the first one is in one denomination, the latter three are in another. The fundamentalist Alum Springs Church is no longer within this tradition, (see Chapter II, Section III, Figures IX and X). The divisiveness of these two stances within the New Jerusalem Association seems to indicate an endemic situation, with a trend toward the progressive stance (see Chapter III).

Laity check (i.e. the saved within church), in contrast to public check (i.e. both the saved and unsaved) on prophecy, is seen in Incident Six viz the exhortation concerning grace given to men and women. The laity checks the prophecy by bible study. This can be seen also in the incident brought up at the two Association meetings observed in 1970 and 1971 concerning the separation of foot-washing and communion - there is no scriptural sanction for combining these two rites. There is also no scriptural sanction however for the women to have deaconesses appointed on the same basis as men are appointed deacons. The laity at the Shoals Branch congregation are also seen interfering in Banshies' Hollow affairs by keeping the progressive preacher-candi-

date from having a revial through which to demonstrate or not whether he has been called to preach - this postpones his examination by the Examining Board.

The focus of both the fundamentalist and progressive stances seems to be on the youth in the community. The young prefer the progressive activities - it brings them into the church. However, the rural elders of the primitive denominations prefer the fundamentalist stance - the youth must choose between the church and the world. The accommodation of worldly activities in the church is a feature of urban churches - whether established, primitive or perfectionist denominations. We have observed in the New Jerusalem Association a difference in the way rural and urban preachers refer to the problem of /our youth running up and down the roads/. The rural preacher puts the stress on the parents: /we haven't been good examples - we've taken the easy way too often and our kids do what we do, not what we say to do/. The urban preacher puts stress on the youth: /they don't listen to their elders the way they ought/.

To what extent is a difference in kinship structure a factor here? Does the fact of special occasion rituals, the cemetery and church homecomings, for instance in the rural area where a relatively homogeneous religious context exists make it possible for the youth to be left out of the church with the expectation that they will join the "right" church later while the heterogeneous religious context of the urban setting makes this an unlikely expectation? The nuclear primary family system seems more prominent in the urban areas, does this mean more stress on joining the church by the youth while the known extended family system in the rural areas mean greater stress on the elders (grandparents specifically) even in the religious context? Many of the activities called progressive are similar to activities

available at the secondary school, the only setting where the different classes in society are likely to be grouped together. Here of course, the predominant stress is on middle-class patterns. To what extent are these progressive activities similar to these? Data is needed on these points in order to deal more adequately with the difference noted between rural and urban preacher's sermons.

Urbanisation does seem an important factor, even when there is no urban residence but merely urban experience of some sort. The progressive pastor of Bانشies' Hollow Church pastored an urban congregation before this rural one; his preaching appointment was in an urban congregation. The pastor at Copperhead Branch Church changed his denominational affiliation while residing in a small town. Many of the local youth attending the progressive activities are active in school activities.

By way of conclusion, we must point out that the determination of deviancy at the congregational level can only be made in terms of both the local-level and the larger regional religious network. Restriction to the local-level would not have been an adequate scope for explaining the behaviour and events between congregations in the same Association and between some denominations but not others viz the Bانشies' Hollow Church. Only the progressive-fundamentalist strain within the Association is capable of explaining this aspect of the deviant congregation. Restriction to the Association patterns would not have explained why the neighbourhood residents or even the Association saw the congregation as deviant. Urbanisation is a feature in the Gas Disputes where an urban amenity, the community gas pipe-line is desired and the development of progressive stance within the New Jerusalem Association, especially associated with the city churches. The churches within which the progressive and fundamentalist positions

are those which still have the prophetic tradition. In the next Chapter we summarise our data from this and the preceeding two chapters and analyse the implications in terms of the holist standpoint in social anthropology.

C H A P T E R F I V E

FACTIONALISM AS A STRAIN-GAUGE IN
THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN REGION

In this chapter we attempt an interpretation of the interaction processes noted in particular detail for the religious organisation. Description of this progressive-fundamentalist interaction does not explain it. The concept of factionalism, when seen as a social strain-gauge does explain this interaction sufficiently. This is to be discussed in Section II. The scope of this concept pertains basically to political contexts of several orders of diverse scale. The extent of the largest scale requires data on the Regional level, hence we must turn in Section I to an overview of the ethnographic area provided by 21 monograph reports. In part these constitute a partial verification of patterns we have noted at our local-level context and in part provide insights for those aspects of the social situation we know to be incomplete for our field study.

SECTION I

Area Overview

Overleaf, Figure I shows the approximate location of the various monograph reports located as well as a break-down by sub-region of the specific monographs and the topics covered. Only four of the sub-regions are represented. Whether this is a reflection of the sources available to us or a real reflection of what areas have been researched we are unable to say.

Our presentation here is in terms of the substantive topics which recur in the monograph reports across the sub-regions. These are: socio-economic situation and migration; kinship; socialisation, folklore, violence, and politics; and, of course, religion. Eight of these reports concern the 1930's and 1940's; thirteen the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's.

Socio-economic situation and migration: All of these reports indicate that stratification systems beyond the one-status grouping exist. The number of groupings to be ranked is closely linked to the length of time the region has been accessible to the outside. The shift away from dependence totally upon subsistence agriculture is seen even in the earliest reports with migration for work, whether temporary or permanent, already routine. The outside stratification system is most elaborated for the Blue Ridge and Highland Rim and least for the North-East Cumberland Plateau. In terms of historical sequence the route to dependence upon a money economy has been through seasonal timbering to supplement the subsistence agriculture, to the development of cash crops (including brewing illegal whiskey), to lumbering, mill work and mining, and increasingly to careers and jobs dependent upon varying

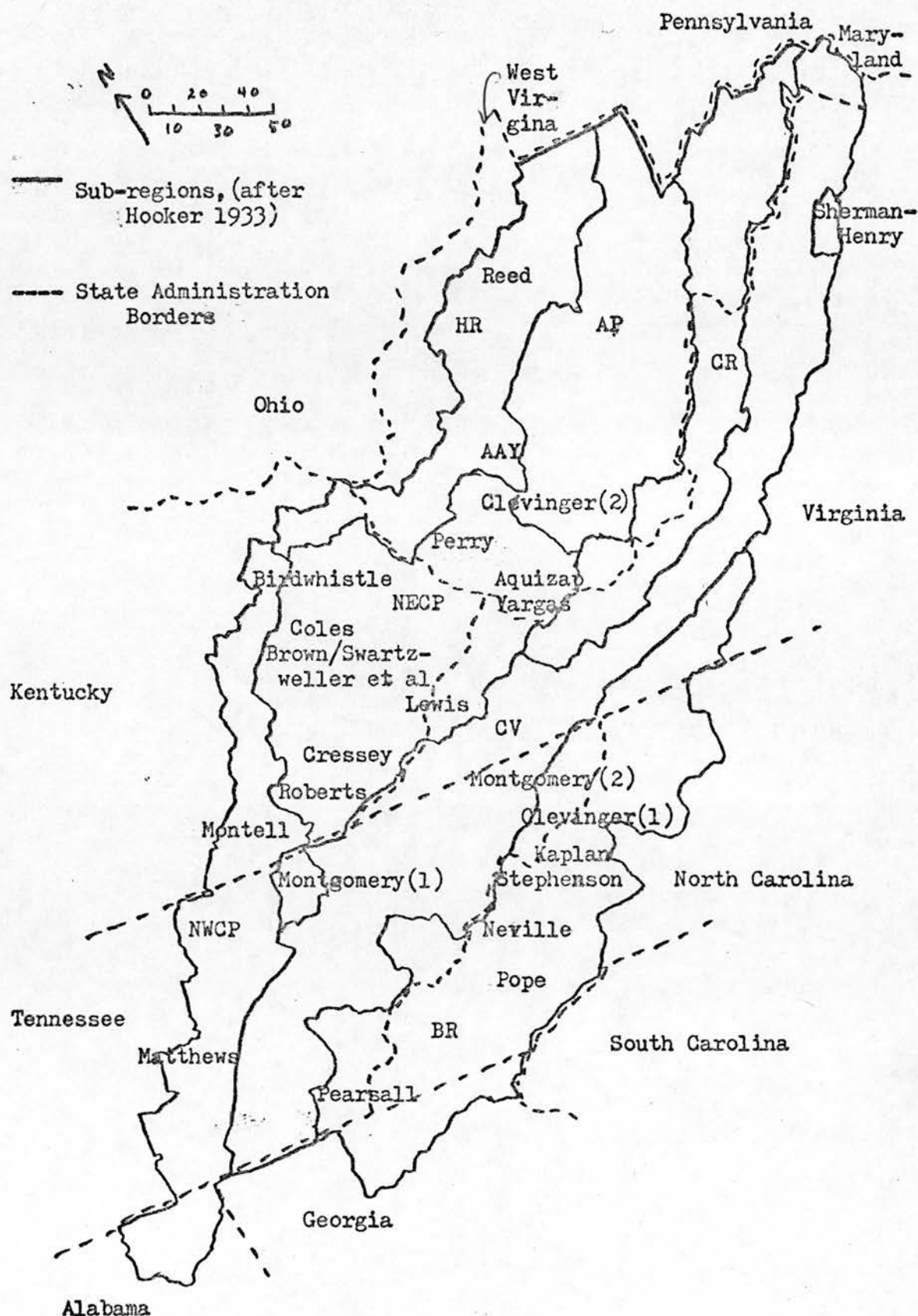


Figure I: Monograph Report by Sub-Region

levels of educational attainment. The differences between the sub-regions is in the range of time involved in the transition through or across the stages, and also the extent of development of different social groups or groupings within the sub-region before the economic situation begins to develop complexity. Emigration occurs from the beginning of outside access, as Clevinger's (1942) report of Appalachian colonies being established during the period 1880-1940 in the Rocky Mountains vis-a-vis the lumber industry indicates.

The migration pattern discussed in detail by Brown (1950) and the Swartzweller, Brown and Mangalam (1971) re-study stressing the relation-ship between migration and the kinship system over twenty years is seen encapsulated in Clevinger's (1942) report: people moving as "sets of people" ranging from 50 to 200 individuals of groups of inter-marrying families. Clevinger also discusses the reknown aversion to any development of cattle agriculture this is woman's and children's work traditionally among Appalachian peoples other than those of Swiss or German ethnic background. Montgomery (1949) also points to the differences in farming practices, family structure and ethnic backgrounds (Scots-Irish and Swiss) between two sub-regions within the Appalachians. This study notes implicitly a contrast between ridge and valley dwellers discussed in more detail by Birdwhistle (1951) and Matthews (1965).

These two authors note the following social characteristics of the ridge dwellers and the valley dwellers. The ridge dweller, while less accessible to the outside physically than his valley counterpart, is nevertheless more mobile in both geographic and social terms. Although both stress a basic three-generation kinship unit, the valley dweller has a more elaborate range including collaterals and other affines besides spouses. The religious situation is more complex for

the ridge dweller: much more like the towns and cities than the rural valley areas in terms of group diversity; much more like the rural valley in terms of church polity and routine practices.

Kinship: In terms of our discovery of a folkterm for the three-generation family, both in a positive and a negative form, only Brown (1950) notes such a term for such a unit - and it is the same as the positive term for our data: the set. Birdwhistle (1951) and Brown (1950) note the folk use of "close kin, close family" in addition. Birdwhistle (1951) notes a difference in valley and ridge extension of this terminology. The ridge use includes lineal consanguines only while the valley use includes spouses of siblings as well. Matthews (1965) also notes collateral extension. Several authors (Montgomery 1949, Pearsall 1959, Stephenson 1968, Kaplan 1971) refer to contrasts of single versus extended and "inner circle" kin versus "outer circle" kin and are not explicit concerning the limits of extension for the larger category. Limits are suggested by other comments, for example, Matthews (1965) when noting that the "own cousin" is equivalent to "first cousin" or Sherman and Henry (1933) and Coles (1967) to the Family cemetery, especially the grandfather's cemetery.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Reed (1967) and Roberts (1959) described the extended unit by examples but do not attach any label to it.

Apart from the family cemetery noted above, only Neville (1975)

(54) For two accounts of southern stock-car racers who come from the Blue Ridge, see William McIlwain, "The earthly delights of stock-car racing", Harper's Magazine, Sept. 1971, pg.22ff about Richard Petty and Tom Wolfe, 1968, "The Last American Hero", pg 97-129 in The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby, London, Mayflower Bks Ltd, about Junior Johnson. There are two things to note. First, there are the set-delimited kin who are included in the businesses these men have incorporated around the stock-car racing and customising. Second there are the legends concerning moonshine running associated with certain stock-car racers.

notes a cemetery gathering although this is in conjunction with a church homecoming. Birdwhistle (1951) notes the family dinner occasion. Birdwhistle (1951) and Pearsall (1959) note the existence of family stereotypes, indicating recognition in some fashion of corporate kin groups which Matthews (1965) and Kaplan (1971) explicitly refer to as "corporate family" and "miniature society". "Visiting" patterns, especially to stress the mother's side are noted by Birdwhistle (1951) and Neville (1975). While Sherman and Henry (1933), Pearsall (1959), and Neville (1975) note funerals, only Neville (1975) specifies other rites of passage. Stephenson (1968) mentions that bridal and baby showers have developed.

Brown (1950) and Birdwhistle (1951) note the existence of ultimogeniture, an item at variance with our data and possibly of Pearsall's (1959) as well. Brown (1950) and Pearsall (1959) do refer to family groups or clusters. These are related to tension between families. Birdwhistle (1951), Matthews (1965) and Kaplan (1971) note tension between families especially in the ridge context and stress the restricted kinship limits here. Kinship joking relationships are specified by Birdwhistle (1951) and Matthews (1965). Perry (1972) also notes sibling rivalry in terms of different political factions. Finally, Coles (1967) and Stephenson (1968), in greater detail and with reference to traditional and modern orientations of families, note that age differences do not automatically make for antagonism between generations: the socio-economic rank status is a relevant parameter here.

These various observations cross-cut the sub-regions for the most part. However, the larger extended pattern noted by Birdwhistle (1951) and Matthews (1965) for their valley dwellers, and Neville (1975) concerning a southern elite, may be related to affluence as we

found for individual cases for extension beyond the three-generation limit from the focal couple. There are several ways to note the larger family unit: family stereotypes, family dinners, annual family gatherings, "visiting", and church/cemetery homecomings.

Socialisation, folklore, violence and politics: There is a marked sexual division of labour in the region which is strikingly seen in this mixed substantive category. Six reports mention or describe this aspect: Birdwhistle (1951), Pearsall (1959), Matthews (1965), Stephenson (1968), Aquizap and Vargas (1970), and Lewis (1970). There was correspondance between ghost beliefs and their use in child-rearing and as well as for rumors of haunted areas to safeguard moonshine and bootleg practices (Roberts 1959, Matthews 1965). Roberts (1959), Pearsall (1959), Matthews (1965) and Read (1967) all noted the existence of persons pointed out as "witches", most of whom were male. The examples given were of persons who had unusual abilities to heal using folk remedies or biblical charms, who were usually perceptive, or who had particular empirical skills either as "water-witches" to locate wells and as "granny"-women, i.e. local mid-wives.

Sherman and Henry (1933) note the correspondance between ghost beliefs and the areas said to be haunted in terms of being locations where persons were violently killed or buried improperly. This was also seen in our case of haunted places and where Halloween arson was expected.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Also, Negroes in two reports (Matthews 1965 and

⁽⁵⁵⁾ There are places pointed out as /haunted, so the old people said/, as second and third ascending generation respondents phrased it. These are places where arson was expected, or logs placed across roads anticipated, on Halloween, the 31st of October. Places so noted were areas where abnormal circumstances of death were said to be involved. These included, a murder, a person not allowed to be buried in the cemetery, and a person whose coffin was exhumed and cast aside. Also, the week prior to Halloween, on the access road to the community connecting with Big Coal Creek - a length of some 30 miles - 10 Halloween

Montell 1972) were cited as having extraordinary supernatural powers of divining for lost property, death, and even being able to "curse a man for you". Reed (1967) pointed out that certain superstitions concerning fortune were learned in the youthful boys peer groups.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Matthews (1965) is the only author to consider the witch phenomena anthropologically noting the social deviance aspect; those men called witches excelled in some sphere where egalitarian values and behaviour were stressed by the group. Sherman and Henry (1933) report they are surprised to find no witchcraft present when they find an isolated community without religious affiliation. They speculate that the loss of seventeenth century beliefs and practices from Anglo-Saxon and Celtic areas of Europe through some process is responsible. Only in witch tales were witches the cause of illness, misfortune, or death.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Ghost beliefs in general were pragmatically used to shield illegal activities or exert control over children.

scarecrows were noted. Six of these were of hung effigies. All scarecrows were correlated with families having children, one of which is a member of the Banshies' Hollow Church. It would seem that there is some link noted here with a former context concerning death by violence which would be expected events during the feuding period after the Civil War and the raiding parties during that war. Ghost stories do abound, frequently noting the link between murder and the ghost's quest for vengeance. The events associated with the haunted places occurred before the life-time of any of the current community residents.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Reed's rites to propitiate Lady Luck seems akin to the notion of the Fates of Greek mythology, legend and cult (see Dietrick 1965 for a fascinating discussion of the evidence for changes in Antiquity for this concept). Thomas (1973:90-92) points out the stance taken by the early Protestant groups in denying that chance or fortune existed was related to the issue of whether God was immanent or not. Nature was often seen as a portend in these centuries (Thomas 1973:103-104) and attention is drawn to the rivalry of doctrine on this point between the Presbyterians and the pro-astrology radical sects and Independents (Thomas 1973:439-440)

⁽⁵⁷⁾ There is ambiguity however in what Sherman and Henry were expecting. Thomas (1973:549) in his historical discussion of the decline of magic points to the link between witch-hunts and political conspiracy, (1973:707) the use of faking a ghost in a cemetery to hide a Jacobean

In this sex-segregated society, politics is predominantly men's business and includes traditional stress on power rather than merely upon legitimated authority. Crime and violence as a logical culmination of traditional political behaviour was noted by roughly half of the reports: Sherman and Henry (1933), Cressey (1949), Pope (1942), Matthews (1965), Coles (1967), Reed (1967), Aquizap and Vargas (1970), Montell (1972), Perry (1972). The two informant reports (Reed 1967 and Perry 1972) noted in the most detail the political patronage system at the local, state and federal levels. Reed (1967) specifies nine different sources for the State of West Virginia, three of which have links to the federal governmental level. He notes also the development of the local vigilante association after the Civil War to cope with crime and violence which continued after the war. In addition, he comments that the reputation for corrupt politics is linked to the timber and mine industry areas not the independent farmer areas.⁽⁵⁹⁾

plot, and (1973:200) that it was strangers who were accused of heterodoxy. Dr. C.J. Larner of the University of Glasgow (Dept. of Sociology) in a Spring Seminar (1975) presented preliminary results of her research into the seventeenth century Scottish witch trials shows a struggle between the various courts over which one had jurisdiction in these cases after canon law was invalidated during the Reformation. The trend was for the higher level courts to over-rule and reverse the lower courts verdict. Only when the highest court achieved definitive jurisdiction did the legal profession decide that witchcraft was no longer an item subject for trial as evidence could not be produced. (forthcoming as The Enemies of God, Sussex Univ. press) During this same century, there was a shift from the Renaissance neo-platonism cause for every event to Aristoteleian empiricism proof (Thomas 1973:692). Thomas notes this shift in terms of the rejection of magic by seventeenth century scientists, after the Interregnum, who would have been anxious to shake off overtones of sectarian radicalism (1973:270). Professor Christopher Hill (1972:38,131), noting the backward areas, relates the suggestion that the commoners were wide open to either radical religious sects or to witchcraft during the English Civil War with the observation that both these alternatives offered freedom from the consequences of the Fall (i.e. sin, ignorance, poverty).

⁽⁵⁸⁾ His data for the county school board superintendent from 1863 to 1963 shows 21 persons over 24 terms - a notable contrast with our data from 1931. In addition our county is twice as populous as the one in his report.

Cressey (1949) notes that nepotism was notable in the county politics even before the coal industry developed. However, subsequent to the development of this industry killings expanded even to political officials and election irregularities were investigated by a Federal committee. Clevinger (1942) notes the unsuccessful attempt of one of the Appalachian colonies in the Rocky Mountains to establish their own county because of tension over whiskey and gun legislation.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Aquizap and Vargas (1970) note that the county educational system was utilised as a patronage system and, along with Coles (1967), that welfare eligibility was dependent upon local patronage and not legal eligibility.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Montell (1972) shows how the county legal machinery was used to bring about the demise of a community considered a blight on the county.⁽⁶¹⁾ Pope (1942) and Perry (1972) also detail the

⁽⁵⁹⁾ During the Civil War years, 1861-1863, the existence of two governments for the western states which in 1863 became the state of West Virginia, is suggestive in this regard. Also, the guerilla war period after, usually called the feuding era, lends credence to the argument as well since the outcome of a particular feud provides a datum for comparison with the subsequent political history within the county at the magistral district level and later at the county level. Clevinger (1942) and Cowan (1974) note two places where people tried or were urged to secede from the county to form their own policy unit. Cowan's discussion concerns another county in the Highland Rim sub-region in which our study community is located.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Wager, in the Ford survey, notes the general prevalence (1967:165) of a negative attitude about local government, 44% with 38.5% not believing that cliques or family groups controlled their local politics. This statistic however is not presented in the Ford survey on a county-by-county framework. Reed (1967) specifies the social conditions correlated with such attitudes, noting the NECP sub-region, Perry (1972) and Cressey (1949)'s reports for the sub-region bear out Reed's correlation. White (1937:80) for the NWCP region specified that school boards were controlled by local politicians rather than educators. Wager notes (1967:162-4) what aspects of local government are state or county financed viz the school systems although educational standards are state-controlled.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Liz Alther (15 April 1976, New Society 36(706):127-129 "The Melungeon Melting Pot") discusses another outcome of the Appalachian tri-racial isolates. The Melungeons, located in the Blue Ridge sub-region in Tennessee have disappeared because they are now indistinguishable from the whites among whom they live.

misuse of the legitimate governmental and legal machinery such that the stress is upon order rather than law-and-justice or even law-and-order.

Perry's (1972) chronicle notes that the county court saw the War on Poverty programme as a way to get federal monies. He describes the patronage system both internal to the county with tied houses and debt-credit and external to the State and Federal levels through other elected officials of the same party as well as how the political party "machine" kept competition from developing within the party. Several supporters of the poverty projects devised by the poor attempted to use the poverty programme as the basis for building a political "machine". The harassment of citizens legitimately challenging voter registration lists by the county Justices of the Peace when documentation existed that the listed voter was deceased or not resident in the voting district is detailed. Also the co-operative store organised by the poor so they could keep down food prices was called a "commie" plot by local businessmen who, however, had not been known to object to the coal companies stores which also deprived them of business. The end of the poverty programme coincided with the incumbent party's patronage system being broken up when they did not win re-election.

Pope (1942) earlier traced the events in a strike which ended in a heresy trial. Communist unionizers came into the mill area only after the strike had begun. Various harassments of the unionizers, after their numbers had dwindled, included both official and mob harassment. Rumours of sabotage plots were circulated to discredit the strikers, leaders were arrested on slight provocation, anti-parade ordinances were created, a citizen's committee was formed, outside strike-breakers were imported, employees in tied houses were evicted, especially in bad weather. Mob eviction from the unionizers headquarters occurred and subsequently prowlers were shot at. The culmi-

nation occurred when the strikers marching to create a picket line were stopped by police. Violence resulting in the Chief of Police's death developed after the strikers challenged the police to produce a warrant. Two trials were held. The first was declared a mistrial. The second turned into a heresy trial in terms of communism and religion rather than determination of the facts in the murder trial. The accused were found guilty and only later were pardoned by the state governor because of the lack of evidence for conviction.

Matthews (1965) in greatest detail, and Coles (1967) note that internal strains provide adequate explanation for internal interpersonal violence in terms of the inconsistency between egalitarian and ambition values producing cross-pressures on individuals. Sherman and Henry (1933) and Coles (1967) are cognizant of outsiders' explanation of violence in the area as linked to mental aberrations- they take special pains to stress that there is no evidence for such aberrations by which to explain social patterns found in the mountain regions (these authors include psychologists and psychiatrist). Reed (1967) also notes a strain between religious tolerance as enshrined by law and a tradition of revealed religion which must consider itself as the revealed truth.

The specific relationship of the "good old boys", a category which covers roughly the 16 to 35 year old age range, to any of the social institutions is nowhere developed. Stephenson (1968) indicates that it includes behaviour which would be called delinquency elsewhere. Perry (1972) notes that a politically active collectivity included mostly this age-grouping in the community, including even a few women. The relationship to the adult-conversion religious tradition is also nowhere detailed, except to note that there are few "good old boys" after age 40 and that the most successful preachers had been notorious

sinners (Stephenson 1968).

Religion: The overall patterns noted were the congregational polity, of revivals as a traditional evangelical form, of annual kin-religious gatherings for both church and cemetery, of low religiosity and of the focus on adult-conversion. Here also the ridge and valley patterns were different. Fundamentalism was more noted for the ridge, revivals were more prevalent there, and there was less stress on religiosity. In the valley, adult church membership began at puberty while on the ridge the stress was upon conversion. Also the loss of publically accessible folklore was linked to the spread of christianity and the sanction on "telling tales" (Roberts 1955). In addition, two behaviour standards were noted: a strict one for most women and church members and a freer one for men as "good old boys" (Stephenson 1968).

Of the eleven reports noting religion in any way, only two (Matthews 1965 and Neville 1975), discuss a religious unit larger than the congregation in terms of details about the larger organisation's relationship to the congregation. The polity of these two denominations which are Established Churches includes a centralised polity (Methodist) and a confederated polity (Southern Presbyterian), both with a hierarchy framework. All eleven sources do take notice of different denominational classifications associated with specific social entities. Four reports (Sherman and Henry 1933, Birdwhistle 1951, Pearsal 1959, and Neville 1975) include discussion of examples where there is one social entity and one religious affiliation. There is in general a rough continuum from a single level socio-economic situation and one religious group to a heterogeneous socio-economic situation with a proliferation of religious groups. Pope (1942) indicates that this occurs within denominations as well as across denominations and draws attention to rural and town differences.

Pope (1942), Pearsall (1959), Coles (1967) and Reed (1967) note a link between a "subsistence economy" and the expressive type of religious phenomenon described and discussed. Brown (1950) and Birdwhistle (1951) note that emotionalism is not automatically synonymous with fundamentalism. In the contrast between fundamentalist versus modern forms of religious phenomenon, it is notable that this contrast appears in the more complexly organised social contexts reported on by Birdwhistle (1951), Pearsall's (1959) mission station, the AAY (1963) delinquency report, Stephenson (1968), and Kaplan (1971).

Faction groups in the religious context are mentioned by six of the reports - scattered throughout the continuum from the one social entity level to the multiple entity level: Pope (1942), Brown (1950), Pearsall (1959), the AAY (1963) report, Stephenson (1968) and Kaplan (1971) - covering all four sub-regions. Coles (1967) and Stephenson (1968) stress the contrast between religiousness and religiosity. In addition to the universal documentation of revivals, two other patterns are noted: Singings by the AAY (1963) report and Matthews (1965) and the fact that Sunday School enrolment is larger than the church membership enrolment by Pearsall (1959), the AAY (1963) report and Reed (1967).

The denominations distinguished by Hooker (1933) as "primitive" and "perfectionist" also appear differentially distributed. The "primitive" denominations, along with ones established during the Reformation in Europe, are found in the rural areas. The ones she lists as "perfectionist" appear only when more than one social level develops, and especially in the urban areas, but increasingly in the rural areas as well. Hooker's distinction is not often made however so inconsistencies appear in the reports.

Stephenson (1968) even goes so far as to assert that the exact

denominational label of the fundamentalist churches is not clear to their members; he gives the example that on one occasion the persons attending a church said their church was FreeWill Baptist, others said it was Missionary Baptist and others said Holiness. We must remember however that his main focus was on family types and social change due to acculturation, not religion per se. Further, both his study and Kaplan's (1971) were summer projects - a time when congregational "visiting" is high, according to our data. Yet he mentions that visiting occurs between fundamental and modern churches for one of his four family-types. While we agree with the reasons Stephenson enumerates for church division - beliefs, doctrines, personal animosities - we cannot accept the assertion that informants do not know what the denominational label of their church is.

A related issue at the level of congregational focus is the tendency of observers to use the terms "sect" and "cult" for the fundamental churches but not the modernist ones, yet to provide no data in support of these classifications in terms of a relationship between the congregation and a larger religious organisation. Ascertainment of larger religious organisations is generally neglected although the specific denominations cited often do have regional and state-wide organisations. Comparison only at congregational level is not sufficient for the classifications made.

Summary: Kinship and local-level Religion are the substantive topics for which the greatest amount of data is available from all four sub-regions. The data is essentially consonant with our findings. There is a three-generation kinship system indicated for the sub-regions. It seems capable of increasing in depth with affluence. Religiously, the data is disappointing because the congregation level is by and large the only aspect described or discussed.

Stratification of some degree is noted for all the sub-regions. The least elaborate system is noted for the North East Cumberland Plateau, the most elaborate of the four sub-regions is the Highland Rim. Migration out of the mountains is noted by every study. There are references to witches or witchcraft for all four sub-regions. We must point out that Sherman and Henry's expectation (1933:95-96) that a neighbourhood without religious affiliation would have witch-beliefs (which however it did not) indicates a hypothetical opposition between religion and witch-beliefs which subsequently in the anthropological and historical accounts of witch-craft phenomenon has not been given substantive support. Differences in the anthropological literature is in terms of the social correlates of the witch-craft accusations and the accusations of the practice of sorcery. These differences relate to whether ascribed or achieved relationships of some sort are indicated (Middleton and Winter 1963:1-26).

Witchcraft accusations are correlated with ascribed relationships within unilineal kinship system or within a centralised state. The power of the "witch" is innate to the witch, the misfortune provoked is generalised and the accusation is directed by the powerful to the helpless. Matthews (1965) and Montell (1972) indicate that Blacks are credited with greater supernatural powers than whites. This is consonant with a lower ascribed status to Blacks which is noted also in Berger's attempt to explain the functional relationship between a private morality christianity focus of the Bible Belt and the maintenance of the southern racial system of the Black Belt (see Chapter One). Matthews and Montell's reports are for the North West Cumberland Plateau, particularly the mid to southern portions of this sub-region.

Accusations of sorcery are correlated with achieved relationships of some sort within non-unilineal kinship systems or a central-

ised state system where authority relationships are contractual between officials and followers. The power of the sorcerer is accorded to specific actions which are available to everyone, the misfortune provoked is of a particular nature, and it is done secretly by the weak directed to the powerful. Those accused are rivals for positions of authority or the super-ordinates by the sub-ordinates. The examples of witches, who are primarily male, given by Roberts (1959), Pearsall (1959), Matthews (1965) and Reed (1967) are examples of sorcery.

Matthews notes specifically that accusations are directed toward persons in her kin-linked community are directed toward persons in the local area, who excel by some criteria. In terms of functional equivalence, Pope (1942) and Perry (1972) note the labeling of the community elite of "commie" on those who are seen as undermining society especially if this person is a stranger. For Pope's case, this label was accurate for the outsiders to come in to aid the local mill strikers. For Perry's case however the label is applied with no factual support to anyone who is challenging the status quo.

Both ascribed and achieved relationships seem to be indicated in the monograph reports in terms of the apparent existence of both witchcraft and sorcery accusations. Work needs to be done in this area to find out if the apparent is real. However, in terms of the two opposing models we suggested in Chapter One - the Primitive Christian Model of Society and the Model of Progress - both kinds of relationships should be expected. Further, since there is evidence which points to the decline of the primitive denominations, the greater reference to sorcery accusations is consonant with this decline.

Marwick interprets (1970:280-295) witchcraft and sorcery accusations as a gauge of social tension. Comparing African and Oceanian accusations he notes that different types of persons accuse each

other in different societies. In Africa, the tension indicated by accusations reflect tensions within the group or community; in Oceania these accusations reflect tensions between communities. There is also a difference in the conceptualisation by anthropologists in these two areas. The Africanists use sorcery for destructive magic illegitimately used, and the Oceanists for destructive magic in general. In addition, for the Oceanian context, there is a close intertwining between mystical aggression of sorcery and real aggression of war. In an earlier African analysis, Marwick saw (Middleton and Winter 1963:17-18) a relation between social tensions and the existence of competition and conflict. He suggested that where a competitive situation, because statuses are not ascribed, gives rise to social tension conflict will result in certain situations. Firstly, if the desire for the object or status competed for is intense, and/or secondly, if the social structure does not eliminate or regulate the competition, conflict will result. Further, if no other adequate institutional outlet exists for the social tension, then witch-beliefs and/or conflict will persist. Berger has already suggested that the private morality christianity contributes latently to the maintenance of the status quo in the south. (While Berger is referring to the southern racial system, basic point still stands when generalised to the status quo unspecified.)

Marwick's focus on the relationship of conflict and witch-beliefs where competition is not regulated is germane for at least one sub-region in the Appalachians: the North East Cumberland Plateau. Berger has already noted that a private morality christianity does not check certain kinds of social phenomenon. It is plausible if the point be valid that lack of check from the religious system exists in other social settings as well. The North East Cumberland Plateau region is

also an area where witch-stories may be found noting witches changing shape or causing misfortune in revenge for perceived slights (Roberts 1959). Cressey (1949) points out that the sub-region was the locus of nepotism in county politics even before the coal-timber industries were established at the turn of the twentieth-century. After industrialisation, violence became associated with county politics. Aquizap and Vargas (1970) note not only a pyramid social stratification shape of the social system but the political control use of the educational and welfare systems as well. Coles (1967) notes the patronising, self-righteous stance of the community elite. Perry (1972) notes how the patronage system was actually worked during the War on Poverty efforts - efforts which were eventually seen as a threat by the county political machine. Reed (1967) not only specified the correlation between corrupt and vested-interest politics with mine-timber industry monopoly but also details the patronage system at the State level for West Virginia. Perry (1972) for a county in West Virginia, specifies the state and federal links activated by the entrenched county party bosses. Only for the pre-World War II period is any other sub-region noted: White (1937) notes the North West Cumberland Plateau concerning the school system; Pope (1942) notes the Blue Ridge concerning the law-and-order response to the Gastonia mill strike.

Two phenomenon in the ethnographic literature parallel the social situation of the North East Cumberland Plateau in terms of the isolation, backwardness and the questionable political behaviour apparently routine: the cacique phenomenon of Latin America and the mafioso of Sicily. Hess points out (1973:14-15) that for much of its history, Sicily stood in a tutelage relationship to its masters. That is, it had neither its own functioning government nor was it totally exploited

as a colonial country. Either possibility would have resulted in some contralisation of power in the formal governmental machinery. There are five characteristics of the mafioso:

- (1) In certain regularly repeated social relationships (landowner-share-cropper, vendor-buyer, owner-thief, etc) an agent, i.e. one of the parties or a mediator, uses physical violence or threatens physical violence. His power based on this enables him arbitrarily to decide any conflict or to enforce the sub-cultural norms valid for it. Because of its weakness the State is not in a position to enforce its own norms applicable to the situation.
- (2) In this manner the mafioso assures himself not only of a personal material or prestige gain but also discharges certain functions within the sub-cultural system by entering the service of others. His position is strengthened through the continuous repetition of his performance of such functions. Within the face-to-face group of a village he becomes known as competent for certain tasks.
- (3) His behaviour is regarded as illegitimate by the codified law of the super-imposed State but conforms with the sub-cultural norms and enjoys legitimation by public morality.
- (4) The mafioso maintains a network of relationships, based upon reciprocal services, with the holders of formal and institutionalised, i.e. State, power and in this manner ensures that his actions escape the sanctions threatened by the codified law.
- (5) Historically the type must be seen against a very definite background - the collapse of the feudal order on the one hand and the failure of the bureaucratic State to enforce its monopoly of legitimate physical coercion on the other. In this situation the role of the mafioso is that of a self-help institution. (Hess 1973:169)

Hess is basically focusing upon the person who is the mafioso. Pitt-Rivers' summary (1964:288-289) of the cacique phenomenon in the Americas gives five contextual specifications of power monopoly which effect is reinforced by isolation.

The characteristics of the power monopoly possessed by the cacique focus upon the situational aspects of the dominant clique or group - these do not have to be institutionalised with positive

sanctions:

- (1) relations must be personal, hence the effective community is limited in size,
- (2) effective power must be a monopoly,
- (3) there must be a certain concentration of power in the formal organisation of the community in order to control its sanctions,
- (4) it is essential to control the exterior relations of the community since this is where sanctions originate,
- (5) in order to hold a monopoly of these exterior relations there must be a concentration of power at the level of the state capital,
- (6) isolation clearly reinforces the effects from which sanctions emanate of the above factors in that the more movement there is between local community and the outside the more difficult it is to maintain political monopoly.

Friedrich indicates (1968:247) that the cacique phenomena can be found in a wide range of societal types - from the hunting-and-gathering band to the militaristic boss of a national state. What is common to this diversity of social conditions in which the cacique may develop is that there is

strong individual power over a territorial group held together by some socio-economic or cultural system. Moreover, most although certainly not all of the referents of "cacique" imply detachment or freedom from the normative, formal, and duly instituted system of government.

While the conditions specified for the cacique and mafioso appear consonant only for the North East Cumberland Plateau, in terms of the accounts especially given by Perry (1972), Coles (1967) and Reed (1967), it is interesting that this sub-region is the one where accusations of "commie" are made when governmental or community reforms are attempted. Marwick's pairing of conflict and witch-beliefs appears substantiated. Work, however, is specifically called for on this point.

The anti-evolution stance viz the teaching of biology is associated with Eastern Tennessee - a state cross-cut by three sub-regions:

North West Cumberland Plateau, Central Valley and Blue Ridge. The sub-regions indicated viz egalitarian stress in terms of interpersonal relations or for social mobility aspirations are the North West Cumberland Plateau and the Blue Ridge. The one survey which shows the distribution of attitudes of distrust of local politics is that noted in Chapter One, by Photiadis and Maurer (1973). This survey for the State of West Virginia pin-pointed the coal- and timber-industry areas in the North East Cumberland Plateau and the southern portion of the Allegheny Plateaus.

In the next section we discuss the concept of pervasive factionalism which we find the most useful concept for assessing the utility of the contrast made of two opposing models of society in the Appalachians, the interaction between progressive-fundamentalist advocates observed in our field study, and the apparent development of monopolistic county politics in the North East Cumberland Plateau especially.

SECTION II

Factionalism as a Gauge of Strain Indicating an Issue of Unresolved Authority

Synthesising the ethnographic material we have gathered for both kinship and religious spheres, we consider the issue of authority to be crucial. There is a parallel apparent between the relationship of the primary family and the larger set, and that between the congregation and the association. This relationship is one of potential or actual strain between the smaller unit and the larger unit which subsumes it. For the kinship context, fission is possible before either of the focal

grandparent couple dies. This can be seen only potentially for the kinship sphere because this is not our primary research focus. Relevant data include the following: the difference in answers given for the two questions - 'who is in your set?' versus 'who are you related to?'; the extension, or not, of kinship terms to affines when terms of reference and address are compared; the purported case of incest between the father-in-law and his daughter-in-law; and the attendance at family gatherings, especially the cemetery homecomings.

For the religious context, schism is possible - and four have occurred in the history of the New Jerusalem Association. Relevant data here are the disorder citations, the tug-of-war polity items (particularly the locus of the reviewing body for deacon's qualifications, the money to be given over to the association, whether association officers can be the association all year round, and the actual disregard of the prevailing thought in the association concerning the separation of the Communion and the Foot-washing rites in some urban congregations), the unexplained enrolment decrease and the exclusions of members. The conflict groupings of progressive and fundamentalist stances concerning congregation and association activities were noted not only in the association itself but also across denominations at the local-level.

The conflict visible in both of these spheres seems to be focused basically at the level of principle. There is a contrast between confederated and centralised polity. There is a strain by the larger group for centralised polity; there is a strain by the sub-ordinated units for confederated polity. When conflict breaks out it is possible that the larger group will be split, either by fission, in the kinship context, or by schism, in the religious context. We have suggested in Chapter One that two mutually exclusive models of society exist in the

Appalachians: a Primitive Christian Model versus a Model of Progress. We also noted there that the primitive denominations are the only denominations declining in number and in membership in the Appalachians. In the ethnographic area overview, we noted that there are indications that monopolistic politics is associated with the North East Cumberland Plateau, a sub-region adjacent to the sub-region in which our field community is located. The conflict in the political sphere of the county in which our community is located is quite tame in comparison to that described for the North East Cumberland Plateau. Impeachment proceedings had begun vis-a-vis the School Board during our first revisit to the field in 1974. Because these various conflicts appear to be basically political in nature, the concept of factionalism we have found to be most appropriate for interpreting these diverse aspects of phenomenon noted for the Appalachians at the local, sub-regional and overall levels.

We consider four contributions to this concept. Firth is concerned with the nature of this behaviour in the most general terms. Siegel and Beals focus on the context which is correlated with such phenomenon when found on the societal level. Nicholas is concerned with the political groups in political context. Morris looks at a positive formulation of the phenomenon in terms of communal rivalry. In these four presentations there are clearly differences in the scope of the phenomenon called factionalism. This ranges from relationships between groups within a sub-society to the context of society itself. All except Morris view it as a negative phenomenon although Firth speculates that there may be some positive aspects.

The one common thread through these four discussions is that this phenomenon is noted in situations where the group or society under study does not have total control over its affairs. Firth (1957:291-295)

defines factionalism as political behaviour per se or behaviour which operated with political effect in other spheres. There are six characteristics. Factions are groups or sections in opposition to one another with structurally diverse recruitment, with an authority structure of leader and henchmen where rewards depend on the discretion of the leader, with a loose and flexible organisation which may engulf even the formal machinery of government and which often exercise pressure deviously so that issues are not judged on their own merits but in terms of the total alliances. The prime feature is a marked lack of regard for the concept of consensus.

Siegel and Beals looking at the larger context in which factionalism occurs suggest (1960:394-417) that three distinctions can be noted in this phenomenon. First, there is party factionalism where the conflicts between interest groups are periodically resolved in an institutionalised and often ritual manner. There is schismatic factionalism where the conflicts between sub-groups often lead to the breaking up of the group. And finally, there is pervasive factionism when co-operation within the sub-groups declines or ceases to occur yet the larger group does not break up.

This latter sub-type is the focus of their discussion. The social context in which the pervasive factionalism occurs is a threat-dependent group with generalised patterns of authority where the roles are similar and occupied by the same persons and for which problems posed by a hierarchical social system are not decisively resolved. In the two societies compared in their discussion, there is historical evidence that both constituted a border community initially in an uncertain or threatening situation. Influences of acculturation have had an impact primarily in terms of population growth and increase in the things considered necessary for a satisfactory life. Firth also notes the

relationship of sub-groups within society with reference to Morris's discussion concerning factions pointing out that they may be characteristic of only part of society being regular structural units of a sub-society which are however defined as factions by the larger society.

Morris is concerned with structural units of a rigidly stratified society (India) who have moved to another society (Africa) and face a different stratification context. He considers the social behaviour of these units in the political realm in light of the similarities they still possess with the original highly stratified society and how these are used to adapt to a more loosely organised stratified society. Therefore he considers this behaviour, though it appears as factionalism in the more loosely organised social system to be communal rivalry traditional in the original society. These social units are permanent and visible even in non-conflict contexts. The emergence of these groups in the new society depend to some extent on the actual numbers in the total sub-society of which these even smaller structural units are a part.⁽⁶²⁾ As these structural units form in the new societal context, one group, usually the first to form, if consistently successful in furthering its own interests over that of the total sub-society in which it is subsumed, becomes the pace-setting group providing the organisational model for the other sub-groups. The organisational changes made by the Ismailis in Africa was to have a central organisation with a non-local main leader who distributed local leadership roles in contrast to local-level situations of leaders and clienteles of supporters subject to fluctuation over time. The former model Morris calls a clique in contrast to the latter which he calls a faction.

⁽⁶²⁾ The population parameter specified for the appearance of rival groups is at 400-500+ population size.

Nicholas (1965:21-61) defines factions as political groups where politics means organised conflict over the use of public power. These are conflict groups whose personnel are seen only in the conflict situation, they are not, therefore, corporate groups but recruited by a leader. Again the diversity of recruitment principles is noted.

We suggest that the phenomenon called factionalism can be seen as a strain-gauge. A theme appearing in the four discussions concerns what we have interpreted as an issue of authority. Firth notes that there is a marked lack of regard for consensus. Siegel and Beals point out that the problems posed by a hierarchical social system are not decisively resolved. Morris is concerned with adaptation within a stratified society where it is discovered that structural units own particular interests are furthered by not working together as one sub-society. Nicholas compares six societies and notes that five are subsumed in some way within a larger society and do not have total control over their social context. To what extent is the factional behaviour seen? It is restricted to only one sphere of the society i.e. the religious or is it diffuse throughout all spheres?

Within the Association there is a case for institutionalised rivalry between preachers, for pastorships and regular preaching appointments. The apprenticeship system for getting training forms the basis for patronage between the older established preachers and the newer. We suspect that success in bringing people under conviction to the point of conversion is a crucial parameter for building up patronage and not just in terms of indicating that one has had, and accepted the call to preach. Interaction between congregations for members, however, seems to be more indicative of the interaction called factionalism. Visiting, discussed in Chapter II as a positive religious duty enjoined upon church members, has a negative side as well as seen in the Banshies'

Hollow incident where the Quoter took part in a neighbouring congregation's revival and in terms of the pastor getting involved in a different denomination's sacrament service. With reference to the latest schism, one preacher phrased the situation as follows: /if they can't bully their way, they'll just tear up/. The stances of fundamentalist and progressive are found outside the religious context as well as the different 'service extras' provided at country stores, or the types of attire considered proper by different groups indicate. Recruitment for special purposes will reflect diverse principles, yet this contrastive theme between fundamentalist and progressive provides the unitary feature which bounds a given action group.

The solutions to a given situation seem to be that the group divide into smaller exclusive groups if possible, tolerate the development of power dominance or continue the state of pervasive factionalism. The underlying unresolved issue we suggest is one of authority in terms of the type and extent of this authority. It is clear that no one wants conformity imposed on them yet it also seems that attempts to create consensus are resisted. The conflict situation within the Association has lead to schism on four separate occasions. That is, there is focus not on consensus but on conformity. The authority issue developing over the two time-periods is between a hierarchy and centralised control or confederation based on conformity, or like-mindedness. The sequence of events concerning the sale of the Tabernacle demonstrates a strain toward dominance by the majority when those on the special committee not willing to sell the existing property if the alternative was to relocate on the youth camp property were replaced. As a result, several more congregations left to join the group of congregations leaving in the 1960's when the issue of relocating the Tabernacle began.

Because the confederation rests on conformity rather than

consensus, we suggest that when the pan-scale situation typical of confederation polity gets out of balance, there is tangible evidence which argues that majority, or minority, group dominance will result. The only alternative to this is to split into smaller groups, each homogeneous within its position. That is, each new group is again a conformity group. Only, in the larger political sphere, this alternative for the minority group is not possible. The accusations of "commie" in the North East Cumberland Plateau, for example, alternating with actual violence, constitutes the institutional alternatives in a context which is not based on political consensus and where the institutional polity alternatives in other social spheres are schismatic factionalism or dominance with imposed conformity. Hess comments viz centralised polity:

The degree to which the state's administrative and coercive organs are mobilised naturally depends on the character of the stratum which uses the State as its instrument of government. If this stratum is conservatively oriented and derives its strength and assurance from the status quo, it can and will - within the framework of a conservative authoritarian or a liberal-democratic pattern of government - conclude compromises and alliances with the local powers from which it has largely risen. A new ruling stratum, on the other hand, one whose position is still threatened, will tend, in a totalitarian manner of government, to use all opportunities offered by the institutionalised government machinery, once it has seized it, and try to use this instrument for the elimination of independent and often rival local powers. It should have become clear that mafioso are possible only in a political system of the first kind. (Hess 1973: 176).

Noting that either a conservative authoritarian or liberal-democratic pattern of government can give rise to the mafioso in specified conditions, Hess gives credence to Firth's speculation that factionalism, while negative in itself, could have positive effects in some situations. That is, if the factionalism is noted within a part of an overall context which is liberal-democratic, then political experience gained in a factionalism context may well develop into consensus-oriented action if

the local situation is modified. This may not be so likely if the overall context is a conservative authoritarian pattern.

Hess noted the semi-feudal conditions for development of the mafioso. Aquizap and Vargas (1970) noted the two-class stratification system in the North East Cumberland Plateau. Goldkind reanalysing Chan Kom indicates how political monopoly can develop in such a situation, especially when there is evidence for the North East Cumberland Plateau (Cressey 1949) that a kin-oriented society preceeded the development of industrialisation of such a narrow type that the stratification was limited to this two-class situation. Goldkind (1966:325-345) focusing upon the relationship between the cacique phenomenon and class conflict reassesses the Chan Kom evidence presented by Redfield in support of the claim that there was general approval in the community when a wealthy few took de facto personal possession of relatively large sections of the best communal lands. Goldkind shows that there was general disapproval by the members of other families whose subsistence was being threatened. Their opposition was ineffective in preventing the take over by the wealthy of this, and other resources, because these were able to mobilise sufficient political power to overcome any serious resistance to their economic and political dominance.. This latter situation was made possible especially after Chan Kom became the capital of an independent municipality whose internal government was legally controlled by local people with minimal outside interference.

The conflict situation which developed after the achievement of municipal status led to migration from Chan Kom not only by the poorer cultivators but as well by those of higher status who were defeated in attempts to prevent the growing concentration of economic advantages and political power in the hands of the leaders of the largest wealthiest family group. Thus Goldkind presents a picture of persistent

conflict in the community with respect to position in the social stratification system culminating in the rise of a cacique. The relationship to the kinship system is instructive in terms of the underlying authority context:

...the economy of a peasant community like Chan Kom is organised into a series of relatively independent family units of production each normally capable of satisfying all its consumption needs by its own production. From the viewpoint of the observer, there is less economic need for integration and consensus among such units than among the highly specialized economic segments of the urban industrialized community....This kind of economic co-operation is required within but not among the distinct family economic units in a peasant community like Chan Kom. Thus, in such a community, especially when ecological conditions make for a scarcity of adequate means of subsistence, the occurrence of social stratification among family units easily leads itself to an awareness of conflicting interest and the development of class conflict. (Author's emphases, 1966:342)

While the majority of the people in our field study no longer rely on an agricultural subsistence, and in any case were not peasants, they are still organised into relatively independent family units of production and consumption. The county situation is still predominantly rural and lack of consensus and integration is apparent. The elaboration of social stratification among these family units is relevant to an awareness of conflicting interests and the development of intergroup conflict. Both of which pertain to the context of pervasive factionalism and the alternatives available when covert conflicts become overt.

SUMMARY

We have noted the pervasiveness of the two factional stances in our religious association - fundamentalist versus progressive - throughout the religious sphere in our field community as well as the secular

sphere. Groups are held in check by interaction on this basic opposition. Egalitarianism is publicly upheld as a value, but so is individual ambition. We have noted the lack of consensus patterns. Factionalism indicates a lack of consensus patterns and behaviour. Where all social units are equivalent, conflict can be resolved by fission or schism. When inequality develops, conflicts are not so easily resolved in this fashion. As long as a lack of consensus persists, conformity is imposed. In an unequal situation, a certain amount of force is needed to ensure this.

Siegel and Beals noted the border community status of the social systems they discussed in terms of the persistence of pervasive factionalism. This type of factionalism persists where problems posed by a hierarchical social system are not decisively resolved. The internal strain of our religious association was over confederation polity or centralised polity. However other problems posed by a hierarchical social system are involved. Goldkind, for example, shows how a kinship-ordered society in a subsistence economy (Mexico) developed into a stratified system with political monopoly by a few of the wealthier families who were able to use new legal machinery to enhance their position over other families when the village was made into a municipal capital to be administered by local residents. Hess points out the semi-feudal, tutelary context as conditions for the development of self-interest power-politics (Sicily).

Marwick sees witch-beliefs and conflict as alternative responses to intense competition which is however not regulated by some social institution. Berger has noted the limitations of a private morality religion. Monograph reports for the Appalachian Region note that there is public stress on egalitarianism and private family and individual ambition. All reports refer to emigration and the development of

social stratification systems of various depths. It would seem that there is a situation where competition is unregulated. The reports by and large note the North East Cumberland Plateau (the only sub-region surrounded on all sides by other mountain sub-regions) for the least developed social stratification system, the locus of political witch-beliefs, the endemic violence whether feud or coal-timber industry associated. The region-wide surveys by Hooker (1933) and Ford, adapted (1967) rank this sub-region lowest in terms of poverty and accessibility.

Schismatic factionalism is a viable alternative in the religious and kinship spheres. It does not seem to be an available alternative in the political sphere however. Factionalism per se indicates lack of consensus as a pattern or perhaps even a value. It would seem that where a context of non-consensus exists yet where schismatic factionalism cannot be resorted to for conflict resolution and thus where the development of a power monopoly of some degree is noted, that a society-wide pervasive factionalism will prevail. This will be the only check on an extension of the power monopoly possible when force and violence can be, and are, used by the governing elite to impose conformity on the community. We suggest that pervasive factionalism be viewed as a social strain-gauge indicating not only lack of consensus, but the conditions for the development of power monopoly as well.

CONCLUSION

Our field study is essentially a pilot study of a religious group located in the Southern Appalachian Mountains. The basic survey of the social contexts of what was defined as that old-time religion had never been done. The religious context in our group was composed of five social settings. Two are year-round activities: the revival and the church meeting. Two are annual seasonal activities: the cemetery and church homecomings. One is an annual event: the Association meeting. We do not know if there are social distinctions between activity groupings for these situations different from the patterns we are able to note by following the activities and extent of participation at the church and association meetings in conjunction with the others as they became relevant for members and regular attenders of the three local-level congregations in our field site. Although now in separate denominations, the three congregations share a common religious group origin. Distinctions between them can be seen along two dimensions.

There is first the presence or absence of religious ecstasy. There is second the stance concerning religious activities and organization along a continuum from progressive to fundamentalist. The Alum Springs Church has no ecstasy and is fundamentalist. The Copperhead Branch Church has ecstasy and is progressive. The Banshies' Hollow Church has ecstasy and is progressive. Subsequent to the initial field visit this congregation has returned to a fundamentalist stance.

The regional Association which is the group origin of the congre-

gations has ecstasy and also progressive and fundamentalist factions. The Banshies Hollow Church, during the field study, is unusual only as far as being a rural progressive church in the Association since this stance is an urban feature. Competition between progressive and fundamentalist advocates, whether preacher or congregation, is through the ecstatic idiom. For the Association's congregations, religious ecstasy is the hallmark of the religious elite. For the Copperhead Branch Church - many of whose members have previously been in congregations still in the New Jerusalem Association - religious ecstasy is accessible to the laity as well.

Authentication of the ecstasy is not however under the control of the clergy. There is no doubt that a certain amount of selection does occur when the preacher candidate, beginning to give prayers and testimony that become mini-sermons, approaches an established preacher whom he wishes to be apprenticed to. He may be refused. But if his giving of mini-sermons continues, some other preacher - in a different denomination or faction - will undertake to help him. The ultimate proof of a genuine call is not under the control of the clergy. Before the preacher candidate can be examined by the Association's Examining Board so that credentials can be given or not, allowing him to preach or pastor in the congregations of the New Jerusalem Association, he has to prove that his call to preach is genuine. This means that prior to examination the preacher candidate has to conduct a successful revival. There is another check as well even after the preacher has his credentials. The laity subjects his preached message to bible study of the New Testament in particular. If scriptural support for what he has preached is lacking, attention will be called to this publicly at another time when the message in question is preached - by him or anyone else.

It is possible to discredit a candidate or one who claims to be a preacher. Again, this discrediting comes from the laity. That is, the person may be said to be /mentally ill/. Because of the stress on the New Testament, discrediting by witchcraft accusation cannot be made. The scriptural admonition concerning witches is in the Old Testament and does not reappear in the New. Witchcraft accusations as discussed by Lewis originate from the higher status grouping. This is a society where egalitarianism is a publicly stressed value even though there is also counter-stress on ambition. The discredit is coming from the laity not the clergy - not even other groups' clergy. There is no belief in demonic possession. All possession is of divine origin. Thus the discrediting mechanism puts the focus on man rather than a supernatural rival to God. While the assessment of mental illness is made, it is obviously not likely to be the same concept as the psychiatric one. The Quoter noted in the extended case events is a relevant person for further study because his claim to be a preacher was discredited by non-preachers on the grounds that he had been in the psychiatric hospital. He was considered to still be touched in the head. He has however subsequently become listed as a preacher so his case will have to be looked into very carefully.

According to Lewis, where central and peripheral possession religions occur together, dual cosmologies exist. We found however a common dual cosmology. There is an opposition between God and the World. God's guidelines have been set down in the New Testament; everything else in the World exists as temptation to man. Satan, the personification of evil, does exist, however his position in the cosmology is not clear. God is also held to be the origin of suffering and illness - as a test or punishment. If there is a dualism of God and Satan or God and the World, this does not extend to explana-

tions of possession by rival groups. (63)

All of the three local congregations root their doctrine in the New Testament, although the Copperhead Branch Church puts some weight on the Old Testament. The rivalry between the three is in terms of the same religious tradition. The rivalry is most intense between Banshies' Hollow and Copperhead Branch, the two congregations still within the prophetic tradition. There is also rivalry within the Association seen in the local area by the Banshies' Hollow and Shoals Branch Churches. The difference here is between the fundamentalist and progressive factional stances within the regional group. All three local congregations are morality cults with an autonomous deity who can not be manipulated by man. Rather, man is subject to the deity, and for the possession groups, is even the instrument through which the deity speaks. Man is credited with Free will, thus can choose to follow God or Satan.

We hypothesised in Chapter One that primitive denominations are central possession religions. We noted the distinction made between established, primitive and perfectionist denominations and noted that while primitive denominations were declining, both established and perfectionist denominations were increasing. In terms of the three local-level congregations of this study, all originating in the same tradition, it seems that the religious schisms for the New Jerusalem

(63) Dual cosmologies in Lewis' sense would refer to a situation where the rival group would be said to follow the Devil rather than God whatever their own view. Our groups merely said their rivals were misguided. However, a Satanic group is said to exist in Nashville, Tennessee whose headquarters is in California (communication by Dr. James Moody, Queen's University, Belfast, visiting 1973-1974 Departmental Seminar, Edinburgh University). We do not know anything about whether religious ecstasy exists in this group however.

Association since 1870 can account for a process by which this is occurring. In 1870, the Jerusalem Association is established as a merger between two previously separate primitive denominations. This group currently has ecstasy (restricted to clergy) and is fundamentalistic. One year later in 1871, there is a split which gives rise to the New Jerusalem Association. This group has clergy ecstasy and is progressive, in terms of the schismatic issue of open communion. In 1940, the Alum Springs and others break off to form the New Adam Association. This group does not have ecstasy and it is fundamentalist. In the mid-1950's there is the issue of healing. While no congregations withdraw, there is enrolment drop in the coal-mining county area of the group's jurisdiction. This is the origin of the Copperhead Branch Church. This church has clergy, and laity, ecstasy and it is progressive. In the 1960-1970's, there is another group of break-away congregations. These have clergy ecstasy and are fundamentalist. The New Jerusalem Association has clergy ecstasy. The progressive faction within the group, associated with urban churches, has increased its influence as urbanisation develops since 1920's when there is one urban church. The changing factional composition of the Examining and Advisory Boards appears in the 1960's. Urbanisation is a factor in both this development and in the development of the Copperhead Branch Church.

Factionalism, indicating lack of consensus within the group, is the process by which the primitive denomination creates new established, primitive and perfectionist groups. This is in accordance with our suggestion that a Primitive Christian Model of society was in opposition to a Model of Progress, and that the former was declining, as the elaboration of stratification levels indicated. This is not uniform throughout the sub-regions however.

The sub-region with the least elaborated stratification system, the harshest environment, a history of being a border region both in terms of military recruitment and in raw resources exploitation is the North East Cumberland Plateau, a sub-region adjacent to the Highland Rim locus of our study. This region is the home territory of primitive denominations. There is felt deprivation in our area however. The observed behaviour of the local primary school being routinely bypassed by the State Bookmobile; the road-patching only before an election; the accounts of the joking relationship incident of the poverty cane patch (along with the militant action of another district in the county over the School Board's attempt to change a principal of another local school) provide evidence that, at least, the community's verbalised felt deprivation is in fact deprivation, although not as dramatic or as violent as that documented for the North East Cumberland Plateau. The conditions of roads in adjacent counties and the regular visits by the State Bookmobile to adjacent country schools provide continuous contrastive evidence at the local-level of the lack of similar provision for them by their county. More documentation will have to be provided ultimately, however there is enough evidence to indicate that this felt deprivation relates to real deprivation - a social feature associated by Lewis with central possession religions. The only other social feature noted by Lewis is that concerning small, fluid social units. The only other local institution in the rural area beside the church is the family. The kinship system is a three-generation depth set. There is evidence that this organisation is flexible. All men in the community have been out of the neighbourhoods for work at some point in their lives. Emigration is high - nearly three quarters of the married couples have left the community. Of the resident ones, many have been out and returned. The same tension

over the hierarchy authority found in the church is indicated for the family system: confederated versus centralised polity. Both the sets and associations are fluid in terms of composition of personal at any given time. Migration, fissions and schisms are not impeded by any authority. This is the case both before and after the 1930's shift of political and administrative jurisdiction from the magistral district to the county level.

The New Jerusalem Association's congregations are located predominantly in four counties. We do not know the total number of magistral districts involved but it should be possible to find out if the ultimate boundary of the Association and the boundaries of the different magistral districts covered were isomorphic in the 1930's. The general four county area was reported to have been an area of southern sympathy during the Civil War. As the state of West Virginia was formed during the war and affiliated with the North, while there is no evidence that this area constituted conquered communities, they were at least surrounded by groups with the opposite allegiance. Which is the alien group depends upon perspective. The magistral district of our local-level field study was sub-sumed in a county where the other districts were northern in sympathy. There is evidence that deprivation is felt by individuals in this district in terms of decisions made at the county level as we have noted.

The opposition between a confederated and a centralised polity can be seen in Swanson's sociological account (1967) of the Reformation. He makes a distinction between "Jurisdictio" and "Gubernaculum"⁽⁶⁴⁾

(64) "Jurisdictio" is the rights in government of a society's association of its political community, especially the power to define the spheres in which the regime may legitimately govern and the manner in which it may exercise its powers. "Gubernaculum" is the legitimate powers of the political machinery by which decisions are made to advance

There were basic kinds of polity involved in the changes during the Reformation. There was the polity of an organisation as an association, the political community ("jurisdictio") and the polity of an organisation as a social system, the regime ("gubernaculum") (1967:32-34). There are two viable arrangements. Either the regime comes to exercise all the powers of "jurisdictio" and "gubernaculum", or the political community exercises "jurisdictio" and the regime primarily exists in "gubernaculum". That is, in the second the "jurisdictio" function is shared with others concerning the exercise of or changes in the prescribed rights of particular subjects; "gubernaculum" is the legitimated discretionary power.

Swanson hypothesised a parallel between the type of polity in a social system with the stance taken on the Reformation doctrinal issue of Immanence. The Catholic position during the Reformation was that God is both Transcendent and Immanent. The Protestant position was that God is Transcendent but not Immanent, that is, He is not both above the World and in it. The stress is on the transference of spiritual substance not the lack of influence of God in the World. This the Protestants did not deny. They focused on the magical basis of the doctrine of Immanence (Thomas 1973:88). The difference of Immanence between the two positions is seen most markedly in their differing dogmas concerning the Lord's Supper. For the Catholic the communion wafer and wine is the body and blood of Christ - the dogma of Transubstantiation. For the Protestant, the bread and the wine is only symbolic of the body and blood of Christ - the dogma of Consub-

the interests of a social system, specifically interests of the organisation and not of the constituent members. This machinery includes judicial procedures for settling disputes among members, methods for maintaining internal order and devices for protecting society from outsiders.

stantiation. Of the religious doctrines from the Reformation, Catholicism was most committed to the doctrine of Immanence, Calvinism and Zwinglianism least committed; Anglicanism and Lutheranism were intermediate between these two polar positions (1967:8-9).

Swanson's hypothesis is twofold (1967:37).⁽⁶⁵⁾ First there is the positive association between 1) the extent to which a regime's exercise of gubernaculum was controlled by a political community, and 2) the replacement of Catholicism by Protestantism. Second, the greater such control by the political community, the more likely the shift would be to Calvinism than to Anglicanism or Lutheranism.

To operationalise a political community's control of "gubernaculum" Swanson specified (1967:53-54) that for an agency to be considered separate from the body politic and from a legislature, it must satisfy six characteristics:

- 1) The term of office must exceed two years.
- 2) There must be security of tenure and person removable only if he violates the terms of office and this must be determined by due process.
- 3) Confidentiality of procedures by which he exercises his rights must exist.
- 4) Some guarantee must exist that resources needed for a discharge of his responsibilities will be supplied.
- 5) The governor as a group must not consist of more than 10% of the members of the body politic.
- 6) The governor must not be an agency through which the body politic exercises jurisdictio.

(65) The extent of "jurisdictio" and "gubernaculum" in the 15th and 16th centuries is as follows (1967:37): Where rights of "jurisdictio" were exercised, it included approval of making or changing laws, consent of codification of law, exercise of the highest judicial functions, approval of declarations of war or treaties of peace, and approval of proposals to levy or renew taxes or to make or obtain loans. The more important rights of "gubernaculum" included the right of selection or removal of principal officers of the regime and holding them responsible for their actions and the right to determine what admini-

There were five types of regime elucidated by Swanson for the 41 cases examined (1967:58-67). Three had governors: Centralist, Limited Centralism and Balanced Centralism. All eleven Centralist⁽⁶⁶⁾ regimes were areas which remained Catholic. All eight Limited Centralist⁽⁶⁷⁾ regimes were areas which were either Anglican or Lutheran. All seven Balanced Centralist⁽⁶⁸⁾ regimes were areas which became Calvinist. Two regime types had no governor: Commensal and Heterarchic. Eight of the Commensal⁽⁶⁹⁾ regimes remained Catholic as was predicted; two became Calvinist. All Five for the Heterarchic⁽⁷⁰⁾ regimes became Calvinist; one case is ambiguous - it could be classified as borderline Catholic or Calvinist (it became Calvinist). The main difference between the two no governor regime types is that the Commensal type stresses the points of similarity while the Heterarchic type stresses the points of difference. The contrast we have made between centralised and confederated polity is that made by Swanson between governor and no governor regime types. The five sub-types elucidated by Swanson indicate that the polity issue is a complex phenomenon.

The Calvinist/Zwinglianist regimes (34.1%), exhibited by fourteen

strative or judicial agencies a regime might establish and to supervise the operation of such bodies.

(66) These were the absolute Lordships and Kingships of the 15th and 16th Centuries.

(67) The constituent bodies have guaranteed formal roles in the application of orders in gubernaculum.

(68) The governor here is not permitted to originate policies solely on his own authority and the constituent bodies install the governor as well as share in the formulation and administration of the policies required.

(69) Here the participants of the body politic participate in the regime only as the regime's members.

(70) Here the constituent bodies participate in the regime as representatives of their own or other special interests.

cases, are evenly divided between a governor type (Balanced Centralist) and a no governor type (mostly Heterarchic but some Commensal) regimes. In regard to the three ambiguous or unexpected cases in the no governor type Swanson notes (1967:177,246) that increasing scope of territories governed may be the crucial factor here with re-organisation an option in Commensal context.

Swanson notes that the doctrinal stance where man's nature is corrupt is correlated with Heterarchic, Balanced Centralist and Limited Centralist regimes. These are all regimes with constituent bodies. The strictest Calvinist position, where few are saved, is associated with Heterarchy. This is the regime whereby the greatest scope for self-interest of the constituent bodies in decision-making exists. There is greater penetration of special interest in Heterarchy than in Balanced Centralist regimes. Further, this strictest Calvinist stance is associated more with a heterarchic elite. When arminian views developed within Calvinist, they were associated with the lower social orders rather than the upper. The arminians were outside the governing elite and less directly involved in employing society's regime for the service of special interest.

Trevor-Roper elaborates upon the distinction between the anabaptists and mennonites of the industrial workers and the calvinism of the merchants and entrepreneurs in terms of the Weberian Protestant Ethic thesis. Weber explicitly narrowed the association of calvinism with entrepreneurs as follows. The restriction was to "diaspora calvinism". Trevor-Roper notes that there were four source areas of entrepreneurs in the time period 1550-1620: all incorporated in the Spanish Empire.⁽⁷¹⁾

(71) These four groups of entrepreneurs were Jews from Spain, christians from the Flemish area of the Low Countries, Southern Germany and Northern Italy. The Erasmian views of the christian groups were

Entrepreneurs were increasingly expelled as the independent merchant centers came under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Crown.

Calvin was nurtured on the works of Erasmus, a sixteenth-century Catholic who extolled primitive christianity, private devotion and bible study, and stressed the sanctification of lay life. These specific items can be seen in the New Jerusalem Association in terms of the annual documentary report and actual observation in congregations. In the development of conflicts between social strata which culminated in the Reformation, the result of the opposition between Catholicism and Lutheranism became the well-known dualism of God and the Devil.⁽⁷²⁾ This manichean doctrine had predecessors in the middle ages among mountain peoples in both Eastern and Western Christendom. Trevor-Roper points out in addition, specifically for Europe (1967:1-45; 90-192), that the mountain areas were not only the ancient home of sorcery and witchcraft but also of primitive religions and resistance to new orthodoxies adopted by the non-mountain feudal societies of the late middle-ages and the Reformation period. Frend notes (1952:77,113) the doctrinal continuities of the pagan-christian - islamic phases of Berber religion and the similarities especially of the christian period (the Donatist Church in African Christianity characterised by fasts, ecstatic prophesying in the worship, and the stress on the separated life) with the Reformation anabaptists. The areas noted by Swanson

declared heretical by the Spanish Crown. Those persons not accepting the aristocracy's orthodoxy were expelled from Spanish territories.

⁽⁷²⁾ It is still possible to hear sermons preached against popery in terms of being an example of the Devil at work. What few Catholics there are in the Appalachians are by and large restricted to the cities. Rural concentrations indicate French background from the early settlement period. (See Lieble 1974: Figure 16, page 84)

as having no governor regimes are mountain areas of Europe. The beliefs are consistently uniform over time although different heretic labels are put to them at different times.

Let us at this point relate our field data for the New Jerusalem Association to the specifications for a governor as given by Swanson:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| No | 1) The term of office must exceed two years. |
| Yes | 2) There must be security of tenure and the person removable only if he violates the terms of office and this must be determined by due process. |
| No | 3) Confidentiality of procedures by which he exercises his rights must exist. |
| Borderline | 4) Some guarantee must exist that resources needed for a discharge of his responsibilities will be supplied. |
| Borderline | 5) The governor as a group must not consist of more than 10% of the members of the body politic. |
| Yes | 6) The governor must not be an agency through which the body politic exercises jurisdiction. |

There are an equal distribution of No's, Yes's and Borderlines. This suggests that the strains discussed, in terms of the two time-periods in Chapter IV and which have increased since 1953, do reflect a situation where the underlying issue of authority is not decisively resolved. In terms of the political context we have complete data only on the School Board in terms of these six specifications (the County Court is the county jural body but we have no data for this entity), there are six Yes's which indicate that a governor exists. To ascertain more specifically the situation for the county political regime, more data is required. The over-all situation is complicated by the fact that the political and religious contexts are not co-terminous contexts but overlapping entities which was not the case during the Re-

formation period in Europe.

Does the existence of faction groups within the religious group indicate a situation of a governor of some type developing or merely a split within a heterarchic elite? Are the arminian aspects of doctrine (the notable aspect in revivalism when it was an independent movement) being sub-ordinated to more rigid calvinist aspects in terms of revivals being conducted within the Association's jurisdiction? Is there a relationship between the extension of religious ecstasy to the laity in the Copperhead Branch Church related to arminian doctrines? There is certainly a change in the definition of the church between the pre-1954 and the post-1953 time periods: from the church as all believers in all times and places to the church as a specific chosen few. This is seen in terms of the Topics in the Association Opening Sermons and Circular Letters. This shift occurs as the Alum Springs Church leaves the Association and as individuals leave to join the Copperhead Branch Church.

We have noted the distribution of congregations in the four county area in Chapter III. These counties have different economic bases. There are differences during the religious crises in the enrolment drop for the different counties. We have been able to note urbanisation as a factor especially in counties A and B. The healing issue largely affected county D. This county is a coal-economy like much of the North East Cumberland Plateau. What differences in the polity of the counties exist for the territory covered by the New Jerusalem Association? What differences of stratification exist? These questions must be researched before a more adequate understanding of this religious group can be gained.

We noted that the factional stances of fundamentalist and progressive in our study, would be, in the existing sociological litera-

ture subsumed together under the "fundamentalism" category. This latter is often correlated with "conservatism" politically. The complexity of the regime types noted by Swanson with the doctrinal types is obscured by the attitude survey approach. Because of the over-lapping boundaries of the institutional political and religious entities, relating these two activity spheres is a crucial problem for the Appalachian context for social groups, let alone individuals. The research problem in terms of viewing pervasive factionalism as a strain-gauge indicating the issue of unresolved authority is how to relate this to the alternative regime-types indicated by Swanson. The three ambiguous or unexpected cases concerning areas that went Calvinist are the cases most similar to our area. Hence the necessity for case study rather than survey.

In terms of planning a four county study aspects from this case study and from the area-wide overview must be incorporated. These aspects fall under four headings: urbanisation, political context, life cycles, and religious group distribution.

There is the aspect of urbanisation both for the county and the

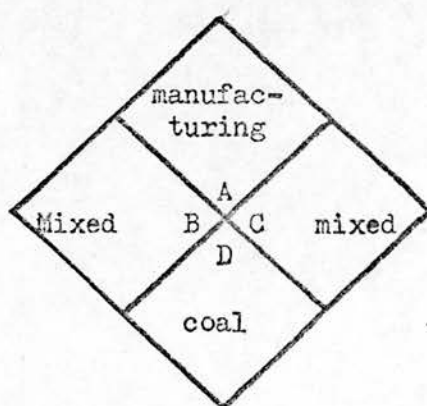


Figure I: Approximate County Subsistence Bases

factor of urban experience of any sort for the individual and family

unit. These are related to the political context in several ways. There are the economic and social structure constraints on the development of cacique phenomenon which may be relevant for county D (See Figure I above). There are demographic parameters related to the incidence of conservatism. Entities between 5,000-15,000 persons are the crucial groups. The New Jerusalem Association's enrolment range since the 1950's has fluctuated between 5,000 and 6,000 - this is the period of two of the four religious crises and of the increase in the progressive faction within the group.

The relation of the life cycle of the individual to secular and religious activities needs to be specified, especially the category of the good old boy. The lack of denominational listing at the national level of many of the primitive denominational groups means that survey methods cannot rely on existing statistical records which under-report the incidence and therefore the distribution of groups. Participant observation collection procedures will have to be used in order to develop sampling procedures. This methodological aspect is important in terms of determining the specificity and strength of association between types of possession religion and the social context before constancy of association in replication can be adequately checked. At the least, it is possible to note that the progressive congregations are in county A for the most part. The healing issue which caused enrolment drop in the 1950's occurred in county D. There have been two schisms in county B and one in counties A-C; all rural areas.

This four county case study is relevant to the elaboration of the concepts relating to complex and plural societies especially in terms of social change. However, these concepts must be substantively linked to the actual processes in given social contexts. The concept of "social-cultural columns" seems an appropriate starting point by

which to relate the different polity types elaborated by Swanson for the secular context as well as different polity types within the religious groups paying attention to how these groups define religion. The concept of "columns" was developed for Holland, the anabaptist region par excellence in Europe. That is, there is a vertical slicing of the social system along with the more usual horizontal class-status stratification model basic in sociology:

The interesting discussion of his [i.e. I. Gadourek on the community of Sassenheim viz the three fundamental forms of religious belief represented in the community - the Catholic, the Calvinist and the Dutch Reformed Church] concept of 'columnising' as a type of vertical integration arose from the work of J. P. Druijt, who investigated its special significance for the development of the national and thus the territorial unity of Holland. The structural importance of this columnization is expressed, inter alia, in the fact that it presents itself as an 'organizational columning'; that is to say, the various associations have a tendency to attach themselves to the main 'columns'. In practice the degree of organizational columning seems to be steadily increasing, and the structural character of development particularly expresses itself in the fact that this attitude has now extended itself even to Dutch Social Democracy and to the humanists (i.e. to the denominationally neutral), although originally it developed exclusively from the rivalry between the various denominations. (Konig 1968:153; author's emphasis)

That this concept may be an appropriate one is suggested both by Simkins' note of class-related religions which are egalitarian within the group and of the development of status distinctions in the Blue Ridge even within broad denominational classifications noted by Pope, for some examples within the category Baptist: Missionary Baptist, Southern Baptist, FreeWill Baptist, FreeWill Baptist Holiness. Neville more recently suggests that religious affiliation may be of some significance in terms of ethnic identity. Both the horizontal and vertical axes of the stratification system must be noted. Only in this way will it be possible to determine whether the Appalachian Region will be totally merged into the Mainstream American Stratifica-

tion System as current theories assume or will maintain a separate regional identity which is linked to a Regional Stratification System within the American and southern contexts.

REGIONAL BACKGROUND

Methodology

Hooker (1933) noted 10 sub-regions in the Appalachians which differed in terms of ecology, subsistence base, and settlement of the early northern- and western-European ethnic groups. Seven of the sub-regions we have already mentioned. The other three are, the South West Cumberland Plateau in Alabama and Mississippi, the Southern Valley in Alabama and Georgia, and the Piedmont along the southeast of the Blue Ridge in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The reason Hooker excluded these sub-regions from her religious survey is that these areas have a high proportion of Blacks in the population. Her survey was especially concerned with the white religious patterns since much less was definitively known about them. Hooker did not sample in these three areas.

But even if these three regions were desired for more complete coverage of Appalachians as a whole, there are not enough counties available because of where the external boundary has been placed in the Ford, (conducted 1958, published 1962) survey. The Ford survey presented much of the statistical data in the form of maps, shaded by county. We have accordingly been able to approximate Hooker's sub-region boundaries vis-a-vis these counties. We stress that this is an approximation because the actual ecological boundaries run through counties rather than conform to their administrative boundaries. It was possible from Hooker's maps (1933: Diagrams XVI & XVII) to note the rough proportion of territory of a county in terms of different sub-regions. We then classified the entire county on the basis of the sub-region indicated as constituting the greatest percentage of territory for that county. While we recognize that this may skew statistical inferences, we do not feel that this would be very significant. In any case we are utilizing only a frequency distribution broken down by sub-region; we are not attempting causal connections between data items within sub-regions with this statistical information. At this point we are interested in abstracting informational content from the statistical tables in order to have an objective background for the comparison of the existing qualitative monographs.

Hooker (1933:299) ranked the six major sub-regions in terms of degree of isolation (6 items) and degree of prosperity (4 items). These items were: (1) % of farms on improved roads, % of farms having cars, % of farms having telephone, % of farms with co-operative selling, % of farms with co-operative buying, and number of inhabitants per square mile and (2) income from farm sales per farm, income from farm sales per acre, average value of land/buildings per farm, and average values of implements/machinery per farm. Her rank order of least prosperous-most isolated to most prosperous-least isolated was clustered into three paired groups as follows: NECP, NWCP; BR, AP; CR, CV.

We ranked the seven sub-regions we are using in terms of prosperity as tabulated from 12 items from the Ford survey. These items were: Population Change, 1950-1960 (Fig. 12), Median Annual Income, 1950 (Fig. 13), Fertility Ratio, 1930 (Fig. 17), Fertility Ratio, 1960 (Fig. 18), Continuous Migration, 1950 (Fig. 23), Value of land/buildings per farm, 1954 (Fig. 32), % of farms grossing less than \$1200 annually, 1954 (Fig. 34) Coal Production, 1958 (Fig. 38), Change in Manufacturing, 1929-1954 (Fig. 42), Manufacturing Changes in Value added to County, 1929-1954 (Fig. 43), % population on public assistance, 1957 (Fig. 76) and % population per physician (Fig. 70). The rank order and clustering of the seven sub-regions has altered slightly over the 27 years intervening between the Hooker and Ford surveys. From least prosperous to most prosperous, the three clusters are grouped as follows: NECP, NWCP; AP, BR, CR, HR; CV.

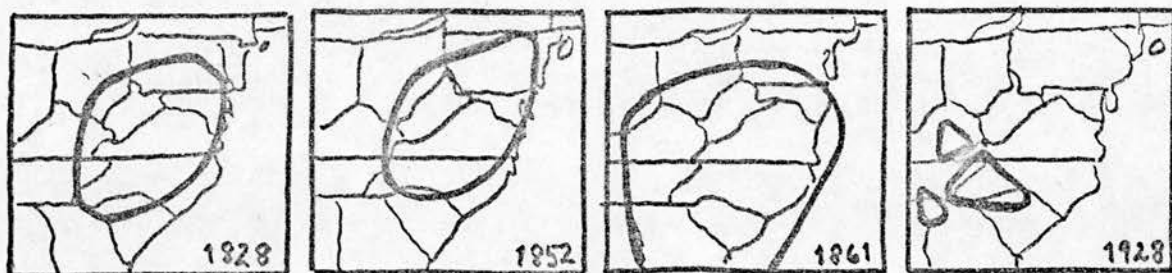
Ecological Setting

The Appalachian mountain ranges, trending in a northeast-southwest direction, are also linked via the New Madrid Fault to the Ozark Mountain region located at the confluence of the Mississippi River. On the whole the Southern Appalachian Region is characterized by a moderate amount of low-level earthquake activity. A tabulation of 152 quakes in this general region from 1758-1968 (Bollinger 1969) indicates that the characteristic activity pattern is for seismic energy release to occur in area patterns that form isolated zones of varying degrees. These epi-centers follow a marked East-west trend which are in apparent opposition to the marked NE-SW structural grain of the mountain ranges, but which parallel the grain of most of the eroded valleys in the eastern and western parts of the area. The temporal pattern since 1870 has been constant with an average of 12 quakes per decade (Bollinger 1969:2103).⁽⁷³⁾

While 1897, with seven quakes,⁽⁷⁴⁾ and 1918, with five, constitute peak years in terms of numbers, four years stand out as years with quakes which were felt over extensive areas (see Figure I below, after Bollinger 1969:2110). We will not go further regarding any social significance of this earthquake activity other than to note the aptness of the stress of the indigenous denominations of the Book of Revelations and the political-economic events which paralleled this earthquake activity: political secession issues eventually culminating in the Civil

(73) Up to 1870, the records show an average of three quakes per decade (pg. 2109), but these felt reports reflect settlement development rather than actual occurrence. Settlement of the entire region was not complete until the middle of the 19th century.

(74) After shocks for this quake lasted over a one month period, This compares with the New Madrid quake of 1811-1812 in the Ozarks lasting over a three month period. It is from this quake that the fault takes its name.



1828 and 1852 cover the North East Cumberland Plateau, the Alleghany Plateau, and the Highland Rim, the Central Ridges, the Central Valley and the Blue Ridge.

1861 covers all the Appalachian regions.

1928 covers the Blue Ridge and the southern parts of the Central Valley and the North East Cumberland Plateau.

Figure I: Felt Areas associated with Appalachian Earthquakes

War, the unionizing activities before WW II, and the religious Awakening periods.

The churches associated with the Appalachian settlement are not uniformly distributed over the entire region. Campbell notes (1969: 171-174) that generally the Presbyterian, Lutheran, Episcopalian and Dunkers are most prominent in the Central Valley (and Ridge) although they are all exceeded by Baptist and Methodist groups. In the Allegheny Plateau, the Methodists, Disciples of Christ and United Brethren are the strongest - with the Methodists even exceeding the Baptists. The Baptists show their greatest numbers in the Blue Ridge and predominate in the Cumberland Plateaus. Campbell also points out that several divisions of the Baptist and Methodist denominations vary in strength in different areas. He also feels that in many remote areas it is probable that large numbers not listed as church members are nonetheless sympathetically affiliated with the Baptists. In terms of what churches are traditionally available in the most isolated sub-regions and the focus on adult conversion, this is most plausible.

The Blue Ridge is the most rugged region of the Appalachians, exhibiting greatly mangled rock formations. The few valleys amongst the ridges trend in the same E-W direction as the quakes. Elevations here average 3,000 ft above sea-level with some peaks extending to over 5,000 ft - the highest on the East Coast of North America. The watershed of these ranges is generally the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers westward flowing to the Gulf of Mexico. Only in the extreme northern portion is the watershed eastward to the Atlantic Ocean via the Potomac River. Much of this sub-region is covered by national forests; 25 of the 35 counties (71%) so covered in contrast to the counties so designated in the other sub-regions (from Ford, Fig. 46):

1 county of 29 in the North East Cumberland Plateau	(3%)
8 counties of 18 in the North West Cumberland Plateau	(44%)
2 of 15 counties in the Allegheny Plateau	(13%)
7 of 15 counties in the Central Ridge	(47%)
15 of 40 counties in the Central Valley	(37%)
none of the 14 counties in the Highland Rim.	

Settlements in the Blue Ridge are concentrated along the watershed valleys and ridge tops, hence the sparsely distributed population.

Sub-regions*													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV
Total N **	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40 %
Less than 1 million tons	11	37	13	77	8	53	-	-	3	20	5	35	7 28
More than 1 million tons	17	57	1	7	7	46	-	-	1	7	4	28	2 6

* Henceforth all tables give regions by initials, otherwise uncom-
mented upon.

** Percentages do not total 100% in all columns because not all
counties have coal, however computation is in terms of total
counties in a sub-region not merely those with direct relevance.

Figure 2: Coal Production, by sub-region
(from Fig. 38, Ford (1967): Coal Production, 1958)

The great Central Valley which divides the two uplifted eastern and western regions is likewise an upland area with an elevation at either end, in Maryland and Alabama of 500 ft and rising to an elevation between 2,600-2,700 ft at the narrowest point of this Valley in Virginia near the Tennessee border. The Central Ridges, rugged in the manner of the Blue Ridge, but lower and with wider valleys, has some elevations to 4,000 ft. These two central regions have mainly a limestone soil which is very conducive to the bluegrass based cattle-raising industry as well as to two other traditional crops in the area: apples and tobacco. The limestone soil was more accessible in these regions to erosion hence the valleys in the Central Ridge region were eroded in the same NE-SW alignment of the Central Valley and the direction of the mountain ranges as a whole. The fact that passage was easily made in a NE-SW direction from the Potomac River watershed meant that roads, railroads, and settlement were earliest in these sub-regions.

The three Plateau regions and the Highland Rim are again mountain-

ous terrain eroded in the E-W direction, like the Blue Ridge, against the structural grain of the mountain ranges as a whole. The Alleghany Plateau is the most rugged of the plateaus with some elevations between 3,000-4,000 ft and having fairly wide ridge tops. The North East Cumberland Plateau, though having some elevations to 3,000 ft is the most seriously eroded and thus the most difficult to traverse of any of the regions. This "Knob Country" has numerous V-shaped valleys which are barely adequate even for the so-called "pioneer farming". The North West Cumberland Plateau, lower than the preceeding region with elevations between 2,000-3,000 ft, has a hardier top-soil and has consequently been eroded the least of the three plateaus. The Highland Rim to the north of the North East Cumberland and Alleghany Plateaus is a lower upland region with elevations only reaching 2,000 ft and edges the Ohio River Valley.

These western plateau and rim regions are the regions underlayed by coal which in some places is as many as fifteen layers interspersed

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
-\$40	6	20	1	7	1	6	-	-	2	13	4	28	-	-
\$40-79	17	56	14	78	10	67	8	23	11	73	4	28	8	20
\$80-119	5	16	3	18	2	13	19	53	2	13	4	28	18	46
\$120+	1	3	-	-	2	13	8	23	-	-	2	14	14	36

Figure 3: Value Land/Buildings per Acre farmland, 1954

(from Fig. 32, Ford (1967))

with divers kinds of rocks indicating the numerous alterations of

Sub-regions														
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
-80 acres	23	79	4	22	5	33	28	80	1	7	4	28	19	48
80-159 "	5	17	14	78	8	54	5	20	5	33	10	71	28	45
160+	"	-	-	-	2	12	-	-	9	60	-	-	3	8

Figure 4: Average Farm Size, 1954

(from Fig. 31, Ford (1967))

emergence and submergence in bygone geologic eras. In Figure 2 above we can see the relative importance coal has for the various sub-regions. This is an extractive industry which is largely owned outside the Appalachian Region.

The top soil's resistance to erosion varied in the three plateau regions. It was hardest in the North West Cumberland Plateau, and softest in the North East Cumberland Plateau where the riverbeds commonly are 500-600 ft below the ridge altitudes. The Allegheny Plateau was fortunate in having broader ridge tops so that while the region was somewhat eroded, farming was still more profitable there than in the other plateau regions. If we compare the value of the land/buildings per acre of farmland and the average farm size, we can see the difference that the limestone soil makes for the Central and Blue Ridges and the Central Valley and the erosion makes for the plateau regions since the farm size is not that markedly different. The slope of the terrain means in addition that the entire land base of the farm cannot be used in the terrain means in addition that the entire land base of the farm cannot be used in the plateau regions and the Blue Ridge especially.

The population of the general area was over 4 million in the 1930's and by the 1950's over 5 million. Since the 1930's population was imbalanced in relation to the region's potential to support these millions, it is apparent that out-migration was increasingly chosen as the individual solution to the problem. This population change was strikingly obvious during the 1950's as Figure 15 shows. When we look at the counties considered urban, i.e. concentrations of 5,000+ persons, in relation to counties with no such population clusters, see Figure 5, the impact this out-migration has had in the plateau region can be seen. Two-thirds of the counties in the Allegheny Plateau lose over 16% of their population during the 1950's, resulting in the disappearance of half of this regions urban counties. Only the North West Cumberland Plateau gains an urban county, however this increase is in an area adjacent to the Central Valley. Thus it should not be a surprise to find that the plateau and Highland Rim regions have the greatest redevelopment need, whether rural or urban, as Figure 6 indicates.

The plateau regions suffered from the loss of manufacturing over the same time period that the general Appalachian Region population increased by 1 million persons. Yet the regions also gained in value from the manufacturing which they were able to keep. This can be seen in the contrast between Figure 10 and Figure 11. It is fairly clear that much of the increased worth to a county by this increase in manufacturing did not offset the general out-migration. However, there is a correlation between the amount of increase of manufacturing worth and the percentage of population loss. That is, while countries in the Central Valley had a tendency to gain population and also to increase manufacturing, these were not sufficient to absorb the shifting population from the poorer regions. Not only is there internal migration but migration out of the region as well. There does appear to be a preference to remain in the general region if the statistics of the internal migration are compared with those of out-migration as a whole. Out-migration, as indicated in Figures 13 and 14 below, concerns two different areas of the greater USA for the Appalachian Mountain Region. The tendency is for the plateau and the Highland Rim regions to migrate

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
1950 & 1960	7	24	1	7	3	20	7	20	3	20	4	28	23	58
1950 only	3	10	-	-	4	27	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
1960 only	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3

Figure 5: Urban Counties in 1950 and 1960

(from Fig. 47, Ford (1967))

to the East North Central area which is to the immediate north in the Mid-West and for the more southern regions to migrate to the District

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
Unemployment	21	72	6	36	4	27	-	-	3	20	10	71	4	10
Rural Redevelopment Needed	8	27	11	65	10	67	19	54	5	35	4	28	5	13

Figure 6: Redevelopment Need, rural and urban

(from Fig. 80, Ford (1967))

of Columbia area, that is, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Eastern Virginia. It is to be understood that these are not the only places to which people move, but these are statistically the most visible. Even before the current century, in the late nineteenth century concerning the logging industry, out-migration showed differential patterns with men from the plateau regions going to new logging areas in the Rocky Mountains on the West Coast which were different from those selected by men from the Blue Ridge sub-region (Clevinger 1942). One regional statistic which we do not find in Ford is the percentage of persons who live in one county and work in an adjacent county. Along with migration which is not necessarily permanent for our field area, we found this practice.

Another factor in migration is the fertility ratio. The Ford

(1967:50-51) survey presents two diagrams which show that between the 1930's and 1960's the age distribution of the population and the actual fertility rates for the general Appalachian Region have converged with the national rates. That is, whereas in 1930 there was a higher fertility rate for the Appalachian region in comparison with the national rate, in 1960 and the rate was the same. If we look at the

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
750-1499	2	6	-	-	4	26	7	20	3	20	5	36	12	30
1500-2499	10	34	4	22	5	33	17	48	7	47	2	14	15	37
2500-3499	5	17	6	32	5	33	7	20	4	28	2	14	9	23
3500-5999	6	21	4	22	-	-	3	9	-	-	4	28	3	8
6000+	6	21	4	22	1	6	1	3	1	7	1	7	1	3

Figure 7: Population per Physician, 1957

(from Ford (1967) Fig. 70)

fertility ratios for these two periods we can see the dramatic decrease

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
352-545	-	-	-	-	3	20	4	11	4	26	6	43	22	55
548-617	-	-	3	17	6	40	10	28	5	33	4	28	13	32
621-699	7	24	5	27	3	27	15	43	4	26	3	21	1	3
670-915	22	75	10	55	2	13	6	27	1	7	1	7	4	10

Figure 8: Fertility Ratio, 1930 number of children under 5 to women 15-44 per 1000

(from Ford (1967) Fig. 17)

which has taken place. It does remain true however, that the relative position between high and low fertility sub-regions remains the same between 1930 and 1960. Yet it must be stressed that the highest actual rate has been halved over this 30 year period. It is very striking that the areas with high fertility are also the very areas which have the worst population ratio per physician. And if we compare these figures with the distribution of church membership, we find that areas with the high fertility and poor physician-population

ratio are also the areas with the lowest church membership (see Figure II, Chapter One).

The one consistent theme which runs through all sources on the Appalachians is the poverty. In the comparison across sub-regions, only the Central Valley is an exception to this. While the farm size (Figure 4) is primarily small to medium, the value of the farmland acreage (Figure 3) is among the highest for the sub-regions. This is the only sub-region (Figure 5). The population ratio per physician is among the best (Figure 7). Not only is there gain in the value added by manufacturing changes between 1929 and 1954 (Figure 11), there is also greater gain of population than loss (Figure 15). The fertility ratio is the lowest for both 1930 and 1960 (Figures 8, 9) for the sub-regions.

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
422	1	3	1	6	2	14	12	35	4	27	5	36	16	40
423-455	-	-	1	6	6	40	11	31	4	27	2	14	13	33
456-499	5	17	4	22	3	20	8	23	6	40	6	42	8	21
500+	23	79	10	66	4	27	-	-	1	7	1	7	1	3

Figure 9: Fertility Ratio, 1960 number of children under five to women aged 15-49 per 1000

(from Ford (1967) Fig. 18)

The poorest sub-regions are the North West and North East Cumberland Plateaus. The North East Cumberland Plateau has the greatest coal production (Figure 2) for the sub-regions. The redevelopment need (Figure 6) is for industrial employment. The farms are on average small (Figure 4) and not very highly valued (Figure 3). The population ratio per physician (Figure 7) is poor - another indicator that the region is poor. The fertility ratios are among the highest for the sub-regions (Figures 8, 9). There has been a greater loss of population than gain (Figure 15). This migration is primarily to the mid-west (Figure 13).

The North West Cumberland Plateau has medium sized farms (Figure 4), but again with low valuation (Figure 3). The redevelopment need is rural (Figure 6). The population ratio per physician is again poor (Figure 7). The fertility is among the highest for the sub-regions (Figures 8, 9). There has not only been loss of population (Figure 15), primarily to the mid-west (Figure 13), but a loss of manufacturing as well (Figure 10).

There are four sub-regions clustered between the poorest (Cumberland Plateaus) and the richest (Central Valley) sub-regions. These

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
Numbers Employed														
Loss	10	33	7	40	9	55	4	10	2	13	1	7	4	11
1-250	12	40	3	18	2	13	9	25	6	40	4	28	4	11
250-1000	-	-	2	11	1	6	10	28	1	7	3	21	9	23
1000-5000	-	-	-	-	1	6	6	17	1	7	3	21	12	30
5000+	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	7	5	13

Figure 10: Manufacturing Changes, 1929-1954

(from Fig. 42, Ford (1967))

	Sub-regions													
	NECP		NWCP		AP*		BR*		CR*		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
Loss	5	17	3	18	4	27	3	9	-	-	1	7	1	3
Gain														
\$1-250,000	5	17	2	11	2	13	1	3	1	7	-	-	2	5
\$250,000- 1 million	9	31	3	18	3	20	6	17	4	28	2	14	3	8
\$1 million -10 million	3	10	4	22	3	20	13	37	2	13	4	28	11	27
\$10 million -50 million	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	17	2	13	4	28	13	33
\$50 million	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	4	10

Figure 11: Value added to counties by manufacturing changes, 1929-1954

(from Fig. 43, Ford (1967))

*The AP, BR, & CR regions each have 1 county less in this Fig. 9 than in Fig. 8. This could mean no information was collected for these 3 counties, that there was no change in the manufacturing, or that there is an error in this Fig. 43 source when tabulated for publication.

are the Allegheny Plateau, the Blue Ridge, the Central Ridge, and the

		Sub-regions													
		NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%	
25%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-34%	12	41	2	11	-	-	1	3	1	7	1	7	13	33	
35-44%	14	47	6	33	5	33	11	31	1	7	6	43	17	43	
45-54%	3	10	9	50	-	-	20	57	6	40	-	-	5	13	
55%+	-	-	1	6	10	67	2	6	7	47	7	50	5	13	

Figure 12: Contiguous Migration, 1950

(from Fig. 23, Ford (1967))

Highland Rim. The Highland Rim has medium sized farms for the most

		Sub-regions													
		NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%	
0-4%	-	-	10	6	-	-	24	67	6	40	-	-	16	40	
5-9%	3	10	-	-	5	33	5	14	8	55	-	-	4	10	
10-14%	6	21	9	50	2	13	6	17	1	7	1	7	19	47	
15-19%	-	-	-	-	8	53	-	-	-	-	10	71	-	-	
*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25-29%	12	41	2	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	7	-	-	
30+	8	27	6	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	14	-	-	

Figure 13: East North Central Migration System, 1950

(from Fig. 24, Ford (1967))

* No percentages on this range

part (Figure 4). It has gained in manufacturing value between 1929 and 1954 (Figure 11). This region is part industrial, part farming. This shows in the good population ratio per physician for some counties, and the poor ratio for others (Figure 7). The redevelopment need is primarily industrial (Figure 6). There has been greater population loss than gain however (Figure 15). The migration is mostly contiguous (Figure 12).

The Central Ridge is primarily a farming sub-region. It has the greatest number of large farms (Figure 4) of the sub-regions. The good population ratio per physician (Figure 7) seems to indicate some wealth in the sub-region. Yet, this sub-region shows a greater loss of population than gain (Figure 15). There is both contiguous migration (Figure 12) indicating the location between the industrialised Central Valley and the industrial portion of the Allegheny Plateau. Other migration is to the east coast (Figure 14).

The Blue Ridge is a mixed forest, small farm (Figure 4) area. The farms are however highly valued (Figure 3). There has also been a gain in manufacturing (Figure 11) for the sub-region. The population ratio per physician is good (Figure 7). And while there has been greater loss of population than gain (Figure 15), the fertility ratio has changed for the sub-region more dramatically than for any other (Figures 8, 9). There is however some need for rural redevelopment (Figure 6).

Sub-regions														
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
0-4%	8	27	16	89	-	-	5	14	-	-	2	14	1	3
5-9%	-	-	-	-	6	40	2	6	-	-	9	64	3	8
10-14%	12	41	2	11	3	20	18	51	-	-	3	21	-	-
*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25-29%	5	17	-	-	1	6	-	-	2	13	-	-	-	-
30%+	3	10	-	-	5	33	4	11	13	87	-	-	-	-

Figure 14: District of Columbia Migration System, 1950

(from Fig. 25, Ford (1967))

* No percentages in this range

The Allegheny Plateau is one of the coal producing regions (Figure 2). It is also a farming region (Figure 4). The redevelopment need has been assessed as a rural need (Figure 6). There is a good ratio of population per physician (Figure 7). Again there is a greater loss of population than gain (Figure 15). The loss of manufacturing (Figure 10) is also seen in the loss of population (Figures 12, 14) both contiguously and to the east.

The energy crisis of the 1970's has meant that the Cumberland Plateaus are again the focus of interest for minerals. What kinds of changes will result remain to be seen. A baseline is available for two periods, Hooker 1933 and Ford 1967, by which to chart the changes which occur. The main question is whether these two sub-regions will retain their rank-order position in relation to the others, or surpass those sub-regions primarily dependent on farming and timber resources.

Sub-regions														
	NECP		NWCP		AP		BR		CR		HR		CV	
Total N	29	%	18	%	15	%	35	%	15	%	14	%	40	%
Gain														
8%+	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	1	7	-	-	16	40
0-7%	1	3	4	22	-	-	7	20	1	7	2	14	12	30
Loss														
0-8%	1	3	2	11	2	13	15	43	7	47	3	21	8	21
8-16%	9	30	8	44	3	20	11	31	5	33	6	42	2	5
16%+	17	59	4	22	10	67	-	-	1	7	3	21	2	5

Figure 15: Population Change, 1950-1960

(from Fig. 12, Ford (1967))

APPENDIX A (II)

MONOGRAPH REPORTS BY SUB-REGION

On the map, (see Chapter 6, Figure I, pg.), we show the sub-regions of the Appalachian Region with the 21 reports located approximately within the sub-region. Only four of the seven sub-regions have been the locus for intensive study so far as we are able to determine - Highland Rim, North-East Cumberland Plateau, North-West Cumberland Plateau, and Blue Ridge. These are not uniformly the least affluent, the Highland Rim sub-region is the second most affluent of the seven. However, the specific locus of the studies has consistently been the lesser affluent areas or groups within a sub-region with only one exception in the Blue Ridge.

In the Highland Rim, the sub-region of our field study, there are two reports. The Action for Appalachian Youth Proposal (1963) is specifically concerned with the problem of juvenile delinquency in the county of the capital city. Reed (1967) provides one of the informant reports specifically for a rural county, but with generalisations about the state as well. He has been a lawyer and politician, so is knowledgeable in these topic areas.

In the North-East Cumberland Plateau, we have two types of study. One type focuses upon the rural farming economic base: Brown (1950) and Swartzwellen, Brown and Mangalam (1971) constitute a two-time period study focusing upon migration and the relationship to family structure. The other type focuses primarily upon the coal mining economic base. The bulk of the studies are in this category for this sub-region. Cressey (1949) gives an overall picture, while Coles (1967) provides psychiatric observations of various individuals including local elite, former coal miners, welfare recipients. Aquizap and Vargas (1970) and Lewis (1970) are surveys of the relationship between coal mining and family roles-socialisation. Perry (1972), another informant report, provides a special account of recent political activity during the War on Poverty. Roberts (1959) provides the only specialist study on folklore evidence from one family who have been farmers, lumbermen, and miners during the course of their life-time.

In the North-West Cumberland Plateau, all the studies are holistic analyses. Birdwhistle (1951) and Matthews (1965) note ridge-valley residence differences in terms of economic base, kinship structure, religion, and migration-social mobility. Two studies note ethnic background differences in social organisation. Montell (1972) reports on a no-longer existing tri-ethnic enclave in a remote locale documenting differences in race relations since the Colonial period. Montgomery (1949) compares three communities (two are in the North-West Cumberland Plateau, one in the Blue Ridge) which are basically agricultural communities but demonstrate organisational differences related in part to ecology and in part to ethnic background.

In the Blue Ridge, again, there are several ecology-economic sub-

types. Sherman and Henry (1933) and Pearsall (1959) report on very isolated areas (five communities in the first report, one in the second) which we are greatly affected by the establishment of the National Parks by the Federal Government. The Sherman and Henry report precedes this development, the Pearsall report follows and assesses the impact. Kaplan (1971) and Stephenson (1968) provide two phases of a planned three-phase study of one mountain valley (the second phase report was published first). Acculturation is the primary focus of these two studies. Neville (1975) presents a special study into a general southern business elite with a long established summer resort/year-round-religious conference center (including a kinship archive) of a regional denomination known in the mountains. Pope (1942) provides an analysis of the inter-relationship between religion, economics and politics in the textile mill industry which relies in part upon mountain-origin workers.

Clevinger (1942) is a report on two appalachian colonies created by migration in the late-19th century in the Rocky Mountains. These two colonies come from two areas in the Appalachians: one from the Blue Ridge and one from the North-East Cumberland Plateau-Allegheny Plateau areas.

A P P E N D I X B

In Appendix B, (I) we summarise Romney's Notation system for component analysis of kinship nomenclature. Also included here is mention of new symbols created for our specific case.

In Appendix B, (II) are three kinship nomenclature charts. These are presented on the genealogical diagram in terms of EGO-referent for the three generations (1st ascending, zero, and 1st descending) in the set structure. Extensions beyond these three generations were observed to always be phrased in terms of this system and to do this the speaker would have to talk in terms of an Ego other than him or herself as the referent point.

APPENDIX B (I)

ROMNEY'S NOTATION SYSTEM

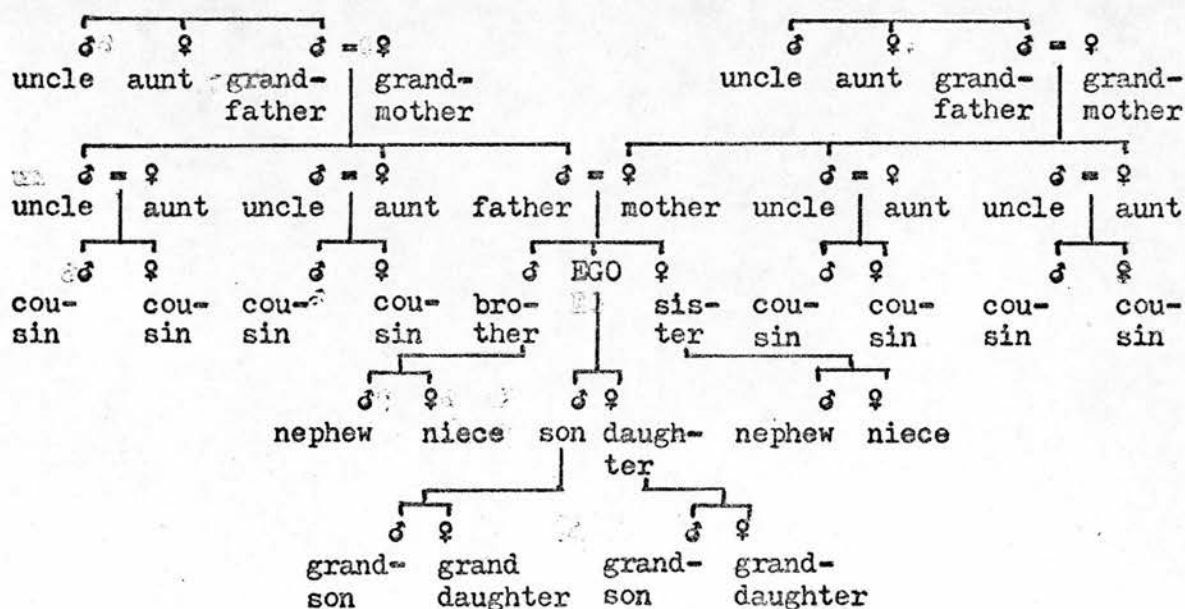
This notation system is composed of two parts: a set of basic symbols and a set of reduction rules. The basic set of symbols is as follows (1969:372):

m	represents male
f	represents female
a	represents person of either sex
=	represents marriage bond
0	represents sibling link, used only where individuals share both parents
+	represents ascending generation link
-	represents descending generation link
()	represents an expansion
superscripts	represent number of expansions
subscripts	represent sex correspondencies

We have found it necessary to add two symbols to this basic set for our particular data:

⊖	represents mating bond
⊙	represents sibling link where individuals share only one parent
.-. & ⊙	represents an adoption link

We show below the relationship to the conventional genealogical grid of the basic set of symbols and the set of english kin terms analysed by D'Andrade and Romney (1969:372-373).



grandfather:	a+m+m a+f+m	uncle:	a+mOm a+fOm a+m+mOm a+f+mOm etc. a+mOf=m a+fOf=m etc.
grandmother:	a+m+f a+f+f		
father:	a+m		
mother:	a+f	aunt:	a+mOf a+fOf a+m+mOf a+f+mOf etc. a+mOm=f a+fOm=f etc.
brother:	aOm		
sister:	aOf		
son:	a-m		
daughter:	a-f		
grandson:	a-m-m a-f-m	nephew:	aOm-m aOf-m aOm-m-m aOf-m-m etc. f=mOm-m m=fOm-m etc.
granddaughter:	a-m-f a-f-f		
cousin:	a+mOm-m a+mOm-f a+fOm-m a+fOm-f a+mOf-m a+mOf-f a+fOf-m a+fOf-f a+m+mOm-m a+m+fOm-m a+f+mOf-f etc.	niece:	aOm-f aOf-f aOm-m-f aOf-m-f etc. f=mOm-f m=fOm-f etc.

This listing, it must be pointed out, is a hypothetical one. That is, it is not from actual field data, but from the analyst being his own informant.

The next step is to reduce these "expressions" in terms of the similarities and differences involved. The Romney system has four reduction rules (1969:373,375):

The list of kin types following each kin term will be called the range of that term. An analysis of the terminological system begins with a listing of the range of each term as above. The next step is to reduce the range of each term to a single notational expression. The rules of the reduction of ranges to single expression are outlined below.

Rule 1. Rule of Minimum Difference within Range.

Where two kin types within a range are identical except for a difference in sex markers in the same position, the two

kin types may be written as one with an *a* in the contrasting position. Apply Rule 1 before all others....[For those ranges which cannot be so reduced]....., another rule is necessary.

Rule 2. Rule of Sequence Difference within Range.

Where two expressions are identical except for one additional "link" (i.e., a pair consisting of one sex and one relation marker), the "link" may be written in parentheses. The parentheses will indicate an optional expansion. This rule may be applied in sequence but must be labeled with a superscript indicating number of reductions made....The same rule holds for "affinal links."

Rule 3. The Rule of Paired Sequence Difference within Ranges. This rule is used widely for the analysis of systems recognizing the parallel vs. cross distinction. It may be thought of as an extension of Rule 2. Where two expressions are identical except for "paired links", the "paired links" may be written in parenthesis. The parenthesis will indicate an expansion, and superscripts will indicate number of expansions. In addition, the subscripts *i* and *j* will be used on the sex markers to indicate appropriate handling of sex when the expression is expanded....

Rule 4. The Rule of Reciprocals within Ranges.

Where two expressions differ only by the fact that they are complete reciprocals of one another, either expression may be written between slashes [//] and be taken to represent both. In the present notation, a reciprocal of any kin type is found by writing the expression in reverse order and changing all *+*'s to *-*'s and vice versa, without changing 0 and = links....In practice, we have found it most convenient to put the ascending generations between slashes.

Perhaps at this point the rationale behind the development of this new notational system can be stated clearly. This notational system contains exactly the same information as the traditional systems. The difference is that in this notation, all information is represented explicitly.

When these rules are applied as relevant, and for this example only Rules 1 and 2 were necessary, we end up with the following set of expressions (1969:374):

grandfather:	a+a+m
grandmother:	a+a+f
father:	a+m
mother:	a+f
brother:	aOm
sister:	aOf
son:	a-m
daughter:	a-f
grandson:	a-a-m

granddaughter:	$a-a-f$
uncle:	$a+a(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}0(f=m)$
aunt:	$a+a(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}0(m=f)$
nephew:	$a(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}0(a-m)$
niece:	$a(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}0(a-f)$
cousin:	$a+a(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}20(a)_{0,1}^{0,1}2a-a$

At his point, structural analysis may begin:

Structural Analysis of Terms....A structural analysis may proceed on the basis of a set of rules in much the same way that within-range reductions were made. The essential difference is that the operations at this stage of analysis reveal structural principles rather than produce reduced expressions of ranges. The following rules are to be applied in ordered sequence as listed. They apply to the reduced expressions produced by procedures outlined above.

Sex of Relative. If two expressions are identical except for the final sex marker, then sex of relative is a distinctive variable. Whenever a distinctive variable is discovered by any of the procedures in this section, it is noted for the appropriate terms. Then the expressions involved are combined and carried along in the analysis.... [sex of relative] may be marked as R and takes the values R_1 male and R_2 female....We now combine the expressions into... [the formulae] (or more simply, ...[the relational links]), which is carried along for further analysis.

Sex of Speaker. If two expressions are identical except for the initial sex marker, then sex of speaker is a distinctive variable. It may be marked as S and taken the values S_1 , male speaking, and S_2 , female speaking. Where a variable is nowhere recognized in a system, it would not be marked anywhere....

Relative Sex. If two expressions are identical except for the fact that in one, sex of speaker is the same as the relative and in the other, it is different, then relative sex of speaker is the distinctive variable. It may be marked as D and takes the values D_1 , different, and D_2 , the same.

Relative Age. If two expressions are identical except for relative age, then relative age is a distinctive variable. It may be marked by A and takes the values A_1 , relative older than ego, and A_2 , relative younger than ego. (Sometimes relative age of intervening relatives is criterial.)

Reciprocity. If two expressions are identical except for being reciprocals, then polarity is a distinctive variable. It may be marked by P and takes the values P_1 , senior or ascending generation, and P_2 , junior or descending generation.

Sex of Intervening Relative. Where two expressions are identical except for intervening relative, then cross vs parallel is a distinctive variable. It may be marked by C and takes the values C_1 , cross, and C_2 , parallel. (1969: 375-376)

For the set of terms subjected to this notational and structural analysis, the following factoring remains for analysis (1969:376-377):

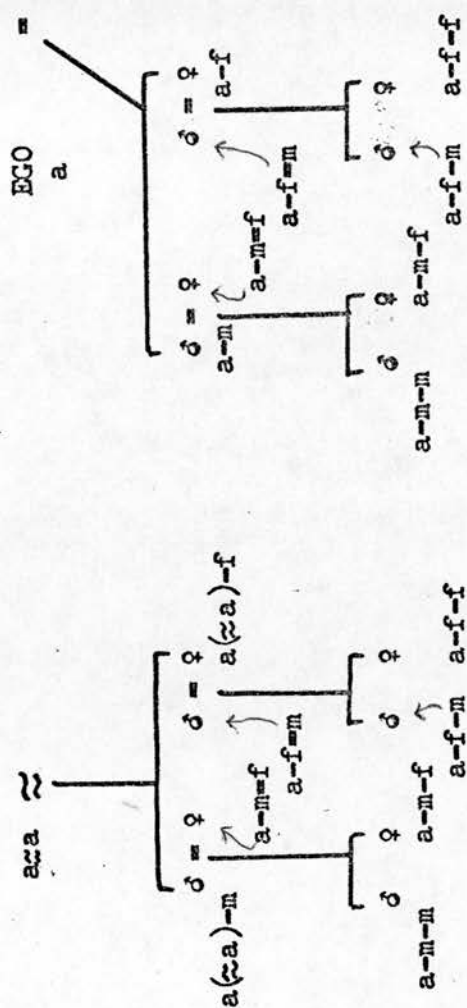
term	extracted components	remaining expression
grandfather	$R_1 P_1$	/ + + /
grandmother	$R_2 P_1$	
grandson	$R_1 P_2$	
granddaughter	$R_2 P_2$	
father	$R_1 P_1$	/ + /
mother	$R_2 P_1$	
son	$R_1 P_2$	
daughter	$R_2 P_2$	
uncle	$R_1 P_1$	/ + (+) 0 /
aunt	$R_2 P_1$	
nephew	$R_1 P_2$	
niece	$R_2 P_2$	
cousin	R P	+ (+) 0 (-) -
brother	$R_1 P$	0
sister	$R_2 P$	

The remaining task involves relating the remaining expressions to each other. At this point other criteria than those incorporated in the terminologies themselves become necessary. D'Andrade and Romney call attention to this situation by contrasting three different diagrammatic arrangements with each other (1969:376-379):

Further Differences in Expressions....In order to complete the analysis, it is necessary to have a small list of common distinctive variables that characterize systems. Examples of such variables include direct vs. collateral, generation, etc. Up to this point the steps in the analysis are explicit....We know of no way to specify a single best solution for the classification or arrangement of these...range-sets. Taste, previous knowledge or the system, emphasis on core kin types, and other factors affect the outcome. Three possible solutions are shown in Figure 1....Since the notation scheme represents the genealogical elements, it may be assumed that terms joined by dotted lines are somehow "closer" than terms separated by solid lines. The dotted lines arise from the analytic procedures. Terms within solid lines (separated only by dotted lines) are defined as constituting a range-set..... There appear to be two separate issues with respect to the

cognitive implications of the analyses presented...The first issue deals with the problem of alternative componential structures, while the second issue involves the selection of behavioral measures that would be affected if a componential analysis were isomorphic with cognitive structure....If the individuals in a culture have alternative cognitive structures, it is possible that either different individuals have arrived at different cognitive structures or that the same individual operates with alternative structures.....It is our feeling that there will usually be several alternative analyses possible for any set of kin terms. If we are to talk about psychological or cognitive implications of an analysis, we must specify what these implications might be....Thus there may be no single best solution for a given problem.....It should be pointed out that differences in...analyses are due to more than one factor. One difference is due to the definition of components, ...Another source of difference is that...uses an entirely different component(...) as a basic means of aligning range sets. These alternative results highlight the fact that componential analysis is not an automatic method of uncovering individual cognitive structures. Slight differences in the operations or the definition and number of components imply different pictures of psychological reality. We feel that the solution to this problem lies in further behavioral measures of individual cognitive operations.

We will not proceed to present the three diagrammes because we take the stance that the additional arrangements criteria should come from the field data.



EGO: a (can be male or female)

spouse: a-a
 husband: f=f
 wife: m=f

my man: f=m
 my woman: m=f
 (these terms sometimes extended to spouse in joking manner)

child: a-a, a-a-a, a(a-a)-a
 son: a-m, a-m-m, a(a-a)-m
 daughter: a-f, a-f-f, a(a-a)-f
 adopted child: a-a-a
 outside child: a(a-a)-a

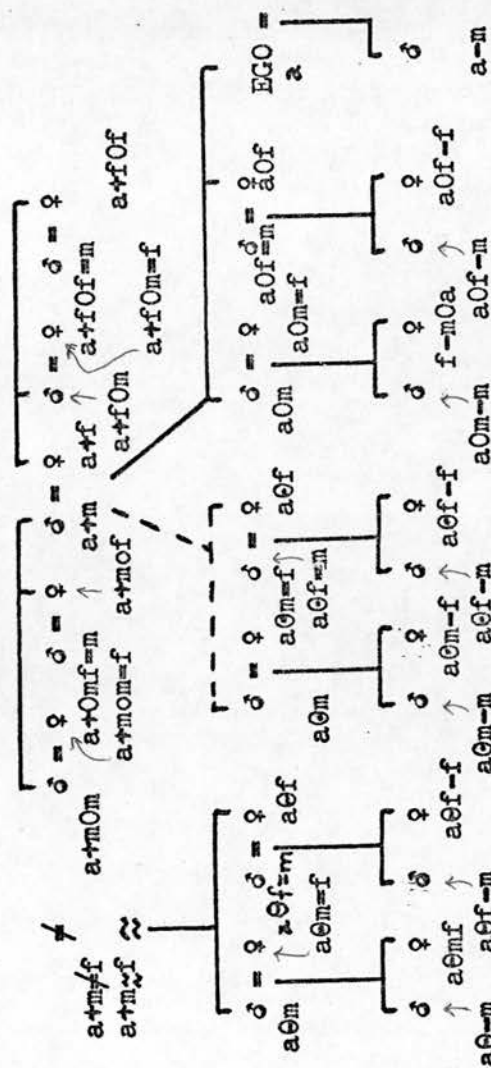
step-child: a(a-a)-a

grandchild: a-a-a, a-a-a-a,
 a(a-a)-a-a

grandson: a-a-m, a-a-a-m,
 a(a-a)-a-m

granddaughter: a-a-f,
 a-a-a-f, a(a-a)-a-f

Kinship terminology from EGO, 1st ascending generation referent with /Set/ limits.



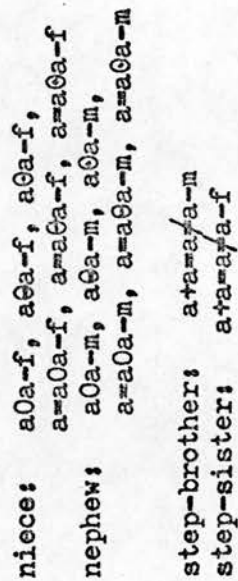
parent: a+a
 mother: a+f (called mom mommy)
 father: a+m (called dad daddy, poppy)
 step-parent: a+a(a/a)a,
 a+(a/a)a
 parent-in-law: a=a+a
 mother-in-law: a=a+f
 father-in-law: a=a+m

aunt: a+aOf, a+aOm=f
 uncle: a+aOm, a+aOf=m
 real aunt: a+aOf
 real uncle: a+aOm

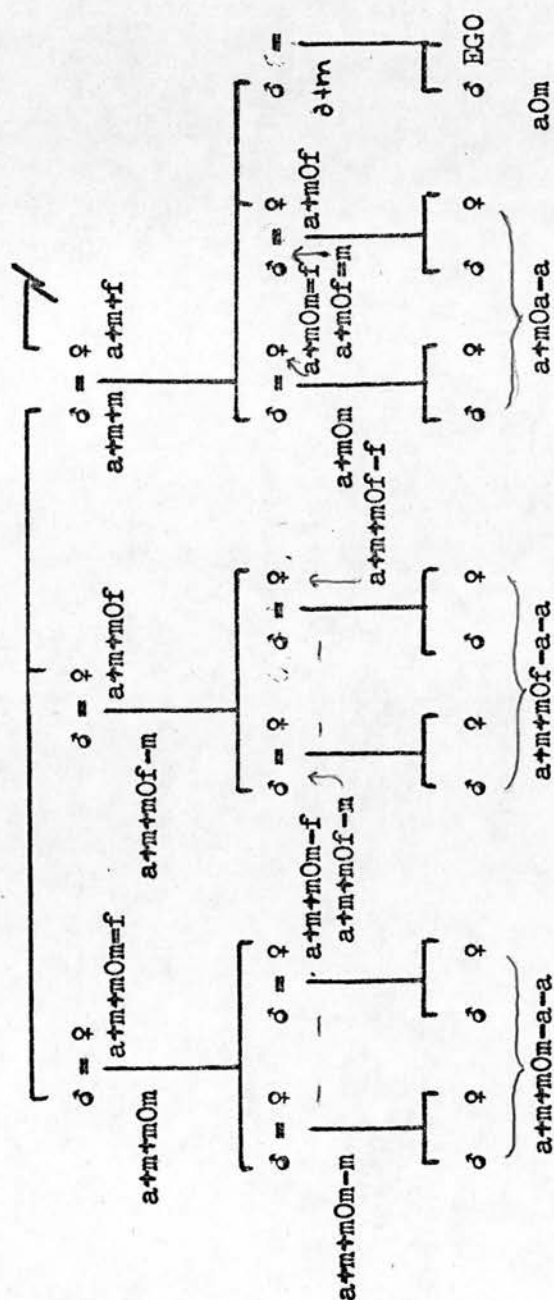
sibling: aOa, aOa, aOa
 brother: aOm, aOm, aOm
 real brother: aOm
 half-brother: aOm
 adopted brother: aOm
 sister: aOf, aOf, aOf
 real sister: aOf
 adopted sister: aOf
 half-sister: aOf

brother-in-law: a=aOm, a=aOm, a=aOm,
 aOf=m, aOf=m, aOf=m
 sister-in-law: a=aOf, a=aOf, a=aOf
 aOm=f, aOm=f, aOm=f
 brothers-in-law: m=fOf=m, m=fOf=m, m=fOf=m
 sisters-in-law: f=mOm=f, f=mOm=f, f=mOm=f
 parents-in-law: a=a+a

(CONT'D)



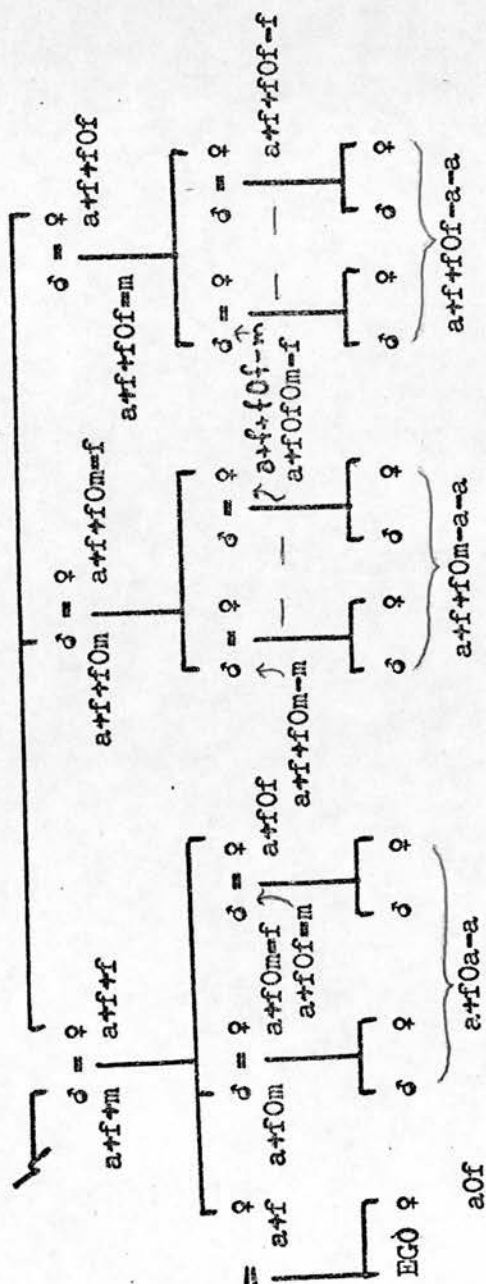
Kinship terminology from EGO, zero-generation referent with /Set/ limits



grandparents: a+a+a
grandmother: a+a+f
(may be called mamaw,
old mommy;
granny used only in
: joking context)
grandfather: a+a+m
(may be called dawdaw,
papaw, old dad, old
poppy)

Kinship Terminology from EGO, first descending generation referent

(CONT'D)



great-aunt: a+a+aOf, a+a+aOm=f
great-uncle: a+a+aOm, a+a+aOf=m

first cousin: a+aOm-a

second cousin: a+a+aOm-a-a

first cousin once removed: a+a+aOm-a

APPENDIX C

CHURCH HOMECOMING SERMON

1 First of all I want to say good morning and to save you asking
the question, I mashed my finger. That's what's wrong with my
finger this morning. I tried to lift a rock but it fell on my
finger. So if you want to know what's wrong with my finger.
5 Now I hardly know what to say. I have wonderfully felt the
spirit of the Lord as I come here. To me I can go no farther
to say that I have really really enjoyed myself the last few
minutes. I looked around just a minute ago and I saw some great
10 representatives of God and that has made us to come to feel aw-
ful little since we come here. We did not expect to see whom
we have saw. Speaking of our Heavenly Father, tonight at this
time if you fellers don't care, every preacher man that's been
called of God to represent Christ, here is the world and a servant
15 to preach His Word and to tell people about Him. I'd like for
you to stand and let me count ye - I want to see who you are.
I can name some of you, some of you I may not know. One, two,
three, four, five, six, seven [eight men stood]. You may be
seated. Brother A, I didn't expect to see him, nor Brother B
I didn't expect to see him - I got a crow to pick with him.
20 Also there's Brother G [the eighth man - from a non-corresponding
association of the same denomination]. I called for Brother A
and Brother B both and also Brother C here and tried to get in
touch with them to preach at our homecoming - it's a long way
there and for some reason things prevented them not to come.
25 Yet we love them. The last message I ever heard Brother G
[different association] preach was in a cemetery - I can't name
the cemetery Brother G but you know where it's at and I heard a
great message that day that really thrilled my heart and its
been a long time since I heard Brother A preach. And with
30 these remarks I trust not to take up too much time. I come here
as a man of little statue and God has disturbed me the past
eight hours sleep since twelve [midnight]. And I thought about
Brother D last year that I, uh,
spent the night with him. The most all of it talking about God.
35 Last night I spent the night with God. At four o'clock this
morning I was still on my feet walking the floor being disturbed
because of a message that God had give me. Now I hadn't through-
ly studied this message and He seemly opened my heart and mind
and let me take a tour through His Wisdom and Knowledge and He
40 has blessed me and I feel weak because of loss of sleep. And
I'm here as lots of fellers has told me, lot of people, has said
- before they saw [speaker] - I'm no better than you - that we
expect to see a big man before you ever come here - I've had that
said to me lots, Brother A - we expect to see a big man - Now I
45 only weigh 144 lbs. and I'm not too tall and I wear small clothes.
And in that I feel like David when David was small in statue and
yet in the sight of God he was great. But I do not have the
faith that was not spoken of at that day of David, but yet David
had faith in Good that he could overcome Goliath on the mountain

1 and that he had faith to go without, uh,
armor or a sword of his own but depending on God, we, I of small
statue in the eyes of God, I must depend on God because I am not
great enough to do anything other than without His Help. And
5 this is what I want to do. I want to read a verse of scripture.
And I want you to pray for me 'cause I need your prayers. I'm
just me and I'm glad that you have called on me to participate
in your service. And just any of these men asitting here is
more capable and qualified I think, uh, to preach you the Truth
10 and to bring out the hidden Mystery that needs to be brought out
in this day and time. John is needed to be known about and that
is what we are going to preach about. And our subject this
morning is the Glory of God. I want to read a few verses of
scripture before that we by the Help of the Lord take our course
15 in the morning's message. Now you bear with me while I locate
the scriptures. Now we are connecting two passages of scripture
together, one being found in the 11th chapter of Corinthians
First; the other, the 15th. We want you to pay close attention
to the reading of this lesson and learn about God:
20 (I Corin II:4-10) "Every man praying or prophsyng
having his head covered dishonoureth his head. But
every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head
uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even
all as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not
25 covered, let her also be shorn; but if it be a shame
for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered."
Now you listen real close:
"For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, foras
much he is the image and glory of God; but the woman
30 is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the
woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the
man created for the woman; but the woman for the
man. For this cause ought the woman to have power
on her head because of the angels."
35 Now we're turning to another scripture, now we trust that you have
got that. Now listen how close connected that these scriptures
are:
(I Corin 15:35-48) "But some man will say How are
the dead raised up?"
40 Now you may not can see the point but we can:
"but some man will say How are the dead raised up?
And with what body do they come? Thou fool, that
which thou sowest is not quickened except it die:
And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that
45 body that shall be, but bare grain."
It says:
"It may chance of wheat or of some other grain;
But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him,
and to every seed his own body. All flesh is not
50 the same flesh; but there is one kind of flesh of
men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes,
and another of birds. There are also celestial
bodies, and bodies terrestrial: But the glory of
the celestial is one and the glory of the terres-
55 trial is another. There is one glory of the sun,
and another of the moon, and another glory of the
stars: for one star differeth from another star in

1 in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead.
 It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorrup-
 tion; It is sown in dishonour; it is raised in
 5 glory; It is sown in weakness; it is raised in
 power; It is sown a natural body; it is raised a
 spiritual body; There is a natural body and there
 is a spiritual body. And so it is written, the
 first man Adam was made a living soul; the last
 10 Adam was made a quickening spirit. Howbeit that
 was not first which is spiritual, but that which
 is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.
 The first man is from the earth, earthy; the second
 man is the Lord from Heaven. As is the earthy,
 15 such are they also that are earthy; and as is
 heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly."
 Now that's as far down as we want to read and of course you fel-
 lers and bible studiers and readers know on the concluding of the
 chapter. But that is as far as we want to read basing our
 20 thoughts, our theme, our text upon the glory of God. To me,
 one of the greatest subjects that can be found in the bible. I
 didn't study for this, I didn't search for this, but God has
 given this to me and that's what I'm going to use. I thought
 on my way down here that, uh,
 25 of the scripture. As we were trying to meditate upon the scrip-
 ture, that God has told the men of God that He has called to
 study His Word that they might show themselves approved, a work-
 man unto God needing not to be ashamed of rightly dividing the
 Word of God and, uh,
 30 we try to meditate upon the lesson coming down here, and yet God
 said for us not to think, uh,
 within ourselves what we ought to say, "For my Father will teach
 you the self-same hour with my spirit which is in you what ye
 ought to say." Now friends without the spirit of God the book
 35 said we're none of His, uh,
 because the spirit of God, uh,
 is a part of God and to be without the spirit of God is to be with-
 out God because God said that He was a spirit and seekest such
 to worship Him in spirit and in truth. Now I want to say - it
 40 might take me awhile Brother E to (go right on) lay the founda-
 tion for us to build on, we know that Paul has laid the founda-
 tion but it takes a little time to get the material together -
 you've got to go get your brick and you've got to get your
 mortar before that you can start to build. And we have before us
 45 the Word of God. And in my course this morning in which is
 gone, uh,
 has given unto me there is not but the one object, or subject
 upon the earth, uh,
 that can't commit sin before God and that is the part that belongs
 to God, uh,
 50 my friend, He says here that there is different glories - there
 is one glory of the sun, uh,
 the sun plays its part, there is another glory of the moon and
 there is one of the stars. And one star different from another
 star in glory, uh,
 55 the sun has, uh,
 ever since that God on the fourth day has, uh,
 caused the sun to shine has, uh,

1 played its part and brought out the glory that might be revealed,
 uh,
 in the sun, uh,
 the moon has played its part ever since the fourth day in the
 5 creation in which God made the thing become to shine. The moon
 has played its part in bringing out the glory that belongs to
 God. God has given man the ability to, uh,
 watch the moon and by her, uh,
 know the signs and seasons of time and He says ye, uh,
 10 hypocrites ye can discern the, uh,
 signs of the sky but you can't discern the signs of time, the
 coming of the son of man, uh,
 the stars has, uh,
 played their part - not long ago, uh,
 15 I was in the mountain and in fifteen minutes I counted 135 stars,
 uh,
 that had dropped from the heavens down and each star, uh,
 made a number in which for me to count, that's letting you know
 that one star is different from another star in glory, uh,
 20 you may not understand the subject but, uh,
 I'm going to try to bring to you some, uh,
 some of God's aims, some of God's ways and that's what we need to
 know something about, uh,
 the glory of God, that my friends I want to say that, uh,
 25 the sun has played a part, uh,
 in each morning that she has come up and there begin to shine
 and without, uh,
 light man cannot exist in this world, uh,
 my friends you put man in darkness, uh,
 30 and continuing in darkness man will fade away, uh,
 because the book said that, uh,
 man was as grass in the fields, uh,
 the grass comes up and He, uh,
 said the glory of man, uh,
 35 listen they's a glory of man, they's a glory my friends of this
 and that, uh,
 but He said the glory of man was as the flower and the grass of
 the field, uh,
 that the sun come up and begin to beat down on the flower as she
 40 played her part, and begin to wither away, uh,
 my friends we, uh,
 have men here in the world here today, uh,
 that things the glory of them, uh,
 is something, uh,
 45 and is outstanding, but I want to say, uh,
 that the glory of man, uh,
 is not nothing compared, uh, to the glory of God, my friends, uh,
 that will be revealed in the last days unto a man that has recog-
 nized God and come to be apart of His glory, uh,
 50 I heard a man say just a while ago, uh,
 that he was agoing to sing not for the glory of man or some beast
 or bird of the air but he said, uh,
 that he was agoing to sing for the glory of God, uh,
 my friends I want to say, uh,
 55 how getting into the scripture, uh,
 and you know where there is no sin, uh,
 and there is no law because the law, uh,

1 was made for, uh,
the lawbreakers and the, uh,
transgressor and where there is no transgression, uh,
there is no law to be found, uh,
5 because uh,
sin, uh,
has not been revealed and my friends I want to say, uh,
this morning that God, uh,
back yonder in the beginning, uh,
10 had four kinds of flesh, uh,
He made one kind of flesh for man and another of beasts, uh,
and another, uh,
of fish and another of bird, uh,
and there is one flesh that God is interested in, it, uh,
15 my friend, I want to say, uh,
people say in many cases, uh,
that God when He, uh,
formed this old world out of, uh,
water and, uh,
20 people say that, uh,
sin laboured in the raven, uh,
but I want to say, uh,
that God did not make the bird of the air for sin, uh,
my friends to dwell in, uh,
25 somebody says, preacher, uh,
how can I commit sin, uh,
my friend you're going to commit sin, uh,
against God with that God has given to you, uh,
commit sin with, uh, uh,
30 hear me out, uh,
this morning there's a lot of ye, uh,
my friend if you walk up to the mirror, uh,
you look into the mirror, uh,
and a lot of times you'll frown at yourself, uh,
35 because, uh,
you don't look just like, uh,
what you'd like to look, uh,
my friends, I want to tell ye what the bible said, has given, uh,
every man a body that it has pleased Him, uh,
40 don't try to change yourself, uh,
you look like just exactly, uh,
the way God wants you to look, uh,
and you favour God, uh,
don't disfavour God by, uh,
45 this morning disfiguring yourself, you disfigure God - now I've
just got to pull this coat off - and pray for me, man had dis-
figured him, lets see if I can prove this. Alright back yonder
in the garden of Eden, I want to say when God, uh,
made the man, He made him my friends of the earth and He said,
50 that this of the earth is of the earth, earthly, uh,
and my friends He said that man was made, uh,
not for the glory of himself, uh,
neither for the glory of the woman, uh,
but that man was made for, uh,
55 the glory of God, uh,
and God's glory must be revealed, uh,
my friends, meaning you, uh,

1 listen here I want to say He taken man from that that He had
 created and the book says, uh,
 that He breathed into his nostrils and, uh,
 man become to be, uh,
 5 a living soul, uh,
 my friends somebody said, uh,
 preacher I wonder why that he was alive, uh,
 because they was some things there, uh,
 that belongs to God. God is a living God. He is not a dead
 10 God, uh,
 God is a substance, uh,
 and a being, uh,
 that has no beginning and end, uh,
 and that is to come, God, uh,
 15 my friends is glory going to be revealed, unsaved, it's going to
 be revealed in you, uh,
 or will you say if this world would die and let the devil use the
 tabernacle of clay and let you glorify the man that damns your
 soul or will you stand right and face God, uh,
 20 and favour God, uh,
 and be in the likeness of God, uh,
 and glorify God, uh,
 my friends there's one thing, uh,
 to have an object and its another, uh,
 25 to have the glory of the object. When you plant seeds in the
 ground as flowers, you plant the subject of a thing that will
 bring forth glory. The glory is the flower of the seed that
 will bloom, in the process of time it'll die and fade away, uh,
 God has planted my friends, taken this earth and He has planted
 30 the seen and from that seed He'll get the glory that's due Him
 and it'll bloom. This bloom will not fade away because God
 in from everlasting to everlasting and God will never cease to
 be, uh,
 my friends, I want to say, uh,
 35 this morning, uh,
 God back yonder in the garden of Eden, uh,
 a lot of people wonders why, uh,
 God did this and God did that, uh,
 my friends it takes time for God to do things, now I want to say
 40 that time with God does not means a thing, uh,
 Peter said one day is as, he did not say, uh,
 that one day was a tounsand years with God, uh,
 no he did not say that, uh,
 but he said one day is as a thousand years and a thousand years
 45 with, uh,
 God my friends is one day, uh,
 so time with God doesn't mean anything, uh,
 but God has fooled around with me, and He's fooled around with
 you, uh,
 50 and God has waited as long as He's going to wait, uh,
 my friends, uh,
 to bring the thing about that's going to be brought about, but
 it's going to be brought about uh,
 my friends, this God did, God only taken seven days to do what
 55 he's going to do, uh,
 sometimes it takes me and you, uh,
 it takes months or years, uh,

1 to make up our minds, uh,
 to change our minds and our ways of living, uh,
 my friends somebody, uh,
 maybe'll set around all day, uh,
 5 thinking whether or not to go to church tonight or go visit some-
 body, uh,
 my friends it taken God only seven days, uh,
 to make the earth, uh,
 create everything that, uh,
 10 was in it and He did it in the six days and completed it on the
 seventh and rested from, uh,
 His labour, uh,
 and my friends, somebody, uh,
 wonders why did it taken Him, uh,
 15 time to do this, uh,
 and you the children that don't know, uh,
 let me tell you how, uh,
 close relationship you are, uh,
 my friends between you and God, uh,
 20 God reached down, uh,
 Brother A and got clay, uh,
 and, uh,
 begin to, uh,
 bring it about and moulded it uh,
 25 a man, Brother, uh,
 Brother F, He moulded Him a man, uh,
 a man that He wanted to be, uh,
 one being altogether among us today, uh,
 but He through the mouth of Christ said I'm in the Father, the
 30 Father in me, uh,
 I'm in you and you in me, He said in the mountain two or three
 witnesses, uh,
 of every word that shall be established yet in the trinity of the
 godhead, He said the Father, the Word, the son, and the spirit,
 35 the water and the blood, uh,
 my friends we cannot, uh,
 get to heaven altogether on the Father only or Jesus only, uh,
 but we must believe in the trinity of the godhead, uh,
 and to see how much, uh,
 40 today we favour with God, uh,
 I want to say that God, He began to reach down and got the clay,
 uh,
 He made the clay, uh,
 and he become to be one being, uh,
 45 it takes more than that, uh,
 and somebody says preacher, uh,
 what else did He do, uh,
 He created something, uh,
 or made something, uh,
 50 that could sin against God, uh,
 and that can live before Him a righteous man and be like God, uh,
 and now this is what, uh,
 happened my friend, God the book said, uh,
 breathed into his nostrils, uh,
 55 the breath of life and man became, uh,
 to be a living soul, uh,
 somebody says preacher, uh,

1 what is it that is not God, uh,
 my friends and he become to have the five sense that is his hear-
 ing, his feeling, his taste, and his smell and my friends his
 5 sight, he had the five senses of God dwelling in the tabernacle of
 clay and they were alive like God because, uh,
 He breathed the breath of life into him and then he become to be
 slive, uh,
 and that's how much you favour God you can see because God can
 see, you can hear because, uh,
 10 God can hear, yeah you can feel because uh,
 God can feel and you can smell because, uh,
 God can smell and my friends God has said that He was going to
 make man into His image and after His likeness, uh,
 and that's just what He did and that the glory of God, uh,
 15 and not man, uh,
 man did not have anything to do with the creating of man, uh,
 but God, uh,
 is what God can do and that you're beholding today that's what
 God done, not you, who is it that says there is no God, you can
 20 look into the mirror and you can't deny Him when you look at your
 -self because you are His glory, that's what God done, what have
 you done? that you might bring out the glory that is in God,
 now man was made for the glory of God, uh,
 listen I feel better Brother preachers and I want to say that I
 25 didn't have something, uh,
 one more that need to be likening man, man had a tabernacle of
 clay and he read in the eighth chapter of the book of Hebrews, uh,
 my friends concerning the old tabernacle yonder that was built by
 our forefathers, uh,
 30 but the bible says, uh,
 that God was greater than the man that built the house because
 God had given him power to build what he had build and my friends
 I want to say this that they had a house to worship God in but
 I'm not going to get into that, but listen I want to say there's
 35 one more thing that was lacking about man that God was not going
 to leave off, uh,
 and James said that if a man kept the law and yet repented one
 point he was guilty of it all and my friends there's one more, uh,
 that God is not going to leave off and somebody says what's that
 40 preacher, uh,
 brother when He got the body and placed the five senses in the
 body, He breathed the breath of life which is the power of God,
 spirit of the Father and He come to be a living soul and my
 friends if you're alive, uh,
 45 here today than you're alive because, uh,
 of the power of God, uh,
 and because the book says that no man can move, uh,
 and have his being in the world without the power of the Lord,
 thank God that we walk and we, uh,
 50 have our being here through Him, uh,
 and that is another part of His glory, uh,
 and here man went, uh,
 walking in the garden, uh,
 and the bible said this, uh,
 55 the bible did not say that God was walking, uh,
 in the cool of the day, uh,
 but listen here then, uh,

1 the book says, uh,
 Adam and Eve walking, uh,
 in the cool of the day and my friend the voice of God appeared
 unto them, uh,
 5 and said Adam, uh,
 where art thou and my friend I want to say that God was speaking
 to that, uh,
 part that belonged to Him, uh,
 the sensibility that He had given Adam, uh,
 10 to know his name and to know who he was, he knowed his-self
 because the part that belonged, uh,
 down on the inside and my friends I'll never get to the scripture
 part today, uh,
 but I want to say this, uh, as time rolls on and my friend the
 15 seventh, uh,
 we have the seven, uh,
 complete number in man, uh,
 man and five sense, and the spirit of the Father made a man a
 seven, the complete number like God and there went man down
 20 through the world and my friends man, uh, then after God give him
 a command, uh, not to eat of the tree, uh,
 the knowledge of good and evil, uh,
 He had a law, uh,
 put up before him, uh,
 25 not to be broken, uh,
 and my friends, uh,
 his wife deceived him, uh, uh,
 why, uh,
 why did his wife deceive him, uh,
 30 God my friend cannot be deceived, uh,
 listen here, uh,
 man was deceived because of the part of man that deceived him, uh,
 if it had been a part of God that Satan had been talking to God
 would have known, uh,
 35 my friends what to do but it was the part that came from man
 which come from the earth that the devil approached and not God
 that sinned against God and my friends I want to say, uh,
 she taken and eat and give to her husband and they become to be
 sinners in the eyes of God and they went out of the garden of
 40 Eden and without the likeness of God but not without His image,
 whew, that's right, now you can say this and you can say that but
 I want to say this that there never has been and there never will
 be sin where God is. God said that light which He is Himself
 has no communion with the darkness and the darkness no communion
 45 with the light, He says for me and for you to be and walk as the
 children of the day and not of the night, so many of our ministers
 I hope that you hear preaches that the ark that Noah built that
 Noah put a window in the top of the ark. The bible does not
 read like that and we must not preach like that. The book said
 50 that Noah put a window my friends to the ark and he finished it
 one cubit above the ark and my friends the window was a symbol
 of the Father being one cubit above the ark and not in the ark
 because it's from God that light comes into the window - was the
 figure of the light the Father - and the door was in the side
 55 being part of the building my friends today the church my friends
 is a part of Christ and we are His body and He is the Head but
 the light my friends of the church comes from above, up yonder,

1 my friends I want to say today as we look at this as they went
 out of the garden of Eden and taken a stroll down through the
 world that God is doing what He set out to do and He went with
 5 time as far as He could go with time if your're here today and
 you're unsaved, uh,
 you may be right now taking your last step between you and the
 grave, uh,
 you've only got a little time here upon the earth and my friends
 the book said and that is time and Paul said that is time and now
 10 high time my friends that we have to change our ways of life and
 give our souls to God and my friends God my friends rested upon
 the seventh day and I want to say God, uh,
 with His great wisdom and knowledge and the part of that he has
 enable me with my friends to bring out the word of the Lord in
 15 revealing the glory of God that is in the church today and God
 begin to look yonder at man in which that he had made and said I
 must destroy him but I'm glad for Noah that he found favour in
 His sight, and I believe that I want to get to where God is going
 to reveal Himself as He really is and my friends we can look at
 20 mankind and we know God but it's one thing to know God and ano-
 ther thing to know Christ and my friends I want to say, uh,
 I have known God in my past days and you have known God in your
 past days, uh,
 and it is a wonderful feeling to come to know His son and my
 25 friends I want to say this - God is going to reveal the glory of
 Him in mankind because mankind was made for the glory of God and
 my friend I can see, uh,
 that how I might try to get away I can see here that the angels
 have my number through the heaven, uh,
 30 my friend having the everlasting, uh,
 gospel, uh,
 what is the gospel, uh,
 Paul said with the power of God, uh,
 every one that believe, uh,
 35 first the jews then, uh,
 the greek or gentile, uh,
 I want to say, uh,
 yonder he went to the heaven, uh,
 having the everlasting gospel, uh,
 40 my friend decreed, he taken a stroll through the gloryland, uh,
 he taken a stroll through heaven, uh,
 he searched the earth and the book said even under the earth, uh,
 they had been men, died, uh,
 my friend just as close to God as they could possibly get, uh,
 45 and because I read of one man, uh,
 the book said that walked with God, uh,
 my friend so much his testimony pleased God, uh,
 and God transformed him and taken him away from here, uh,
 I can read of another man, uh,
 50 that was, uh,
 so close to God that God took a whirlwind, uh,
 and upon the journey separated him, uh,
 from this world of men and caused him to be with God, uh,
 my friend these men of old, uh,
 55 they was no doubt that some of them down there and they was some
 of them down yonder and they was some of them here, uh,
 and God went through them all and he couldn't find nobody worth-

1 ly, uh,
 my friend to open, uh,
 the seal of burnt oil, uh,
 and there sit His son, uh,
 5 remember the subject, uh,
 the glory of God, uh,
 there sit the, uh,
 son by His side, uh,
 and through the vision that Isaiah saw, uh,
 10 in the eighth chapter said, uh,
 Lord here am I send me, uh,
 and He said go blind their eye, uh,
 he was talking my friend to His Father and the Father said go, uh,
 blind their eye, uh,
 15 with their eye they may not see, uh,
 but my friend and God helped to unbosom, uh,
 a part of His glory and dispatch it into this world and my friend
 the glory of God taken upon him, uh,
 a body like men and you, uh,
 20 they may die to reveal the, uh,
 Father in heaven and my friend I want to say, uh,
 I can see the son of God back yonder when he came into the world,
 uh,
 and taken upon him a body, uh,
 25 not to die my friend for the sinner now here me out notice how I
 said that not to die, uh,
 for the sinner, Jeremiah or Exekial said, uh,
 the soul has sin, uh,
 and that soul must surely die, uh,
 30 the sinner must die for, uh,
 for hisself, uh,
 the son, uh,
 Brother G [different association], uh,
 I didn't get into the kingdom of God, uh,
 35 by walking in, uh,
 the bible said we could not inherit the kingdom of God, uh,
 my friend flesh and blood, uh,
 cannot inherit, uh,
 the kingdom of God now listen here I want to say, uh,
 40 Christ did not die for the sinner for every sinner has to die for
 itself, well let me tell you something, uh,
 Christ died for the glory may be revealed, uh,
 that he can save you from, uh,
 and not die my friend an everlasting death, uh,
 45 listen here, uh,
 he taken mine and your sins yonder on the cross of calvary and
 he died but that don't take death from me I know, not long ago,
 uh,
 I looked upon my daddy's face and I saw him frown, uh,
 50 and grit his teeth at the paid of death, uh,
 he was a righteous man and it did not take, uh,
 death away from him, uh,
 somebody said preacher, uh,
 what are you driving at, uh,
 55 Paul said this, uh,
 Paul said we've all, uh,
 sinned, uh,

1 and come short, uh,
come short of what, uh,
the glory of God, uh,
and my friends then death is pronounced upon, uh,
5 the sinner, uh,
I say I'm glad, uh,
that the devil tried to hide, uh,
my friend, uh,
through the sins that me and you committed, uh,
10 from God but his all seeing eye, uh,
could see, uh,
what he was trying to destroy, uh,
and here he brought out the very thing, uh,
that he wanted, uh,
15 and unbosomed his son, uh,
and he come to this world, uh,
and the devil thought he had God defeated, uh,
when he taken man by death and hid him in the earth, uh,
in my closing remarks, uh,
20 I can't get through I just have to quit, uh,
in my closing remarks, uh,
yonder on the mountain, uh,
Moses testified, uh,
like this and said my friend to God and Moses testified and said
25 this he said I'm not the God of the dead but of the living and
my friends he showed Moses, uh,
the resurrection of the dead, uh,
in that that he said, uh,
I am the God thy father Abraham, uh,
30 Isaac and Jacob not the God of the dead, uh,
but of the living he let them know that there somewhere, uh,
my friend I want to say uh, that the devil thought he had Him
defeated, uh,
when he taken Christ, uh,
35 down to the tomb that day, down from the cross that day, uh,
and then laid him yonder, uh,
in the old tomb that Joseph had, uh,
ah listen here, they rolled a big stone, uh,
upon that tomb and thought, uh,
40 that they had him hid, uh,
glory halleluia, uh,
Brother you can't hide from God, uh,
the book said thought you take the wings of the morning, uh,
and fly away to the uttermost parts of the heaven, uh,
45 thou art tired and though you make your bed in hell thou art there
and you can't hide from God, uh,
whether sinner or, uh,
a christian, uh,
brother we'll have to rise, uh,
50 when God calls our name glory halleluia I want to say this they
thought they had defeated, uh,
Brother A I can see yonder, uh,
when I was a boy coming up, uh,
the devil rolled an old stone, uh,
55 upon my heart, uh,
bless the name of God, uh,
and he thought he had me defeated, uh,

1 I searched the earth, uh,
 I walked around, uh,
 I was a boy 20 years old, uh,
 and I seen my, uh,
 5 they was something about my life, uh,
 that I'd lost up yonder, uh,
 in the woods somewhere, uh,
 and I was searching and I was hunting glory, uh,
 and the devil had rolled a stone upon the door of my heart, uh,
 10 and he thought he had me, uh,
 sealed up and I'm glad, uh,
 that God revealed His glory to the minister of God who told me I
 was a sinner, uh, and that I can be saved from sin and time that
 I was with God, uh,
 15 and glory halleluia I'm so glad I'm glad, uh,
 brother that night for the message when I walked down, uh,
 aisle and right on up to the Lord, uh,
 God put a feeling down inside that I'd been a hunting for, uh,
 I hunted all over, uh,
 20 my friends is still here today and never in my day, not since I've
 been a christian, uh,
 I've never seen the day, uh,
 that I desired to be in sin, uh,
 I promised God, uh,
 25 that upon my knees I would serve Him and follow Him, uh,
 and my friend thats what I'm going to do, uh,
 and he thought he had me, uh,
 defeated, uh,
 whoo, when the message of God is on me I begin to be freed right
 30 on the alter of prayer I seen an angel dispatched from there and
 he come down the ladder and set upon the earth, uh,
 and Brother he got so close to me, uh,
 I could feel the hands of God, uh,
 the presence of God, uh,
 35 I know that God is, whoo, I know I seen the angel when he touched
 me and he made me whole, uh,
 I taken my cup up the ladder and he taken the message to heaven
 and my friend and told the angels up there that they was one that
 believed in God and had had been borned again and they was re-
 40 joicing, uh,
 whew, the book says that theys more rejoicing in heaven over one
 sinner that repented somebody said preacher, uh,
 and seen Jacob ascending and descending up and down the ladder my
 friends everytime you pray a prayer - we none of us pray as we
 45 ought to - and everytime we pray a prayer theys an angel dis-
 patched the message to the glory world if its to ge got there,
 some of them we don't pray in faith for the message to leave be-
 cause they don't get above our heads but when we get through to
 God, uh,
 50 my friends the angel is a messenger and he takes the message to
 the Father and this is what he means God, my friends dispatches
 the message back to you by the angel and lets you know your
 prayer has went through glory halleluia my friend now I want to
 try and close I'd like to say this that after all this here we
 55 are today an old tabernacle of clay and the glory of God being
 revealed, uh,
 from the inside, uh,

1 my friends and no man can say to you that you're this and you're
 that the bible says that man that overcometh will I give a high
 stone and no man knows says he that receiveth it, uh,
 my friends and when God, uh,
 5 saved you from sin, uh,
 you didn't have to run to your neighbour, uh,
 Brother G [different association] you know it yourself and I want
 to say then that the glory of God, the glory that God has been
 hidden in the world because christians are failing to come to
 10 prayer meeting, they're failing to take their children to sunday
 school and its come to be a time where our Father has set son
 against son, against his father and daughter and mother we're
 fighting one another, uh, bless the Lord here today and create
 15 in them the spirit of God and to teach them about the glory of
 God in living right ourselves and henceforth it may be revealed
 unto our children, uh,
 thank the Lord for operating in a day and when the house of God
 and the doors is closed up - here me out Brother G - I've lived
 20 a christian's life here in spite of everything - Soloman one time
 went to the house of God and said where is the service of the
 Lord, uh,
 brother even in that day and time, uh,
 they left the house of the Lord, they looked at Soloman and Solo-
 man, uh,
 25 did forsake the house of the Lord and then went to the field to
 reap their harvest and that they might provide for their family
 - Soloman said bring the servant from the fields back to the
 house of God and let you bring your offering - Paul said upon
 the first day of the week a part that God has prospered you and
 30 that there be no gathering when I come, uh,
 my friends we sometimes ought to unfold our pockets for God and
 let God's glory be revealed with that that he had given them -
 that may hurt but it's true. My church that I pastor, Christ's
 church that I pastor if they take tithes I'd have enough money to
 35 give some child maybe to a scholarship to school, I'd have enough
 money to go into the grocery store and get the awfulest sight of
 groceries they ever was and take it to that poor widow up that
 hollow that just barely is making it, I know people today that
 40 barely does make it because not of the things the way things are
 but because that we are failing to do our part, Now children the
 glory of God is being hid because of us. It's not God but us.
 The bible said it's a gospel being hid. It's hid to those that
 are lost. We need with our lives to be a message, an epistle,
 not a law written upon paper with pen and ink but a living law
 45 is one that's walking on legs and with our hands work as God
 gives us that we might give to one that needs. We should be a
 living epistle with the law written upon our hearts and stamped
 in our minds that the unsaved man can look at mine and your
 doings and let that be an undying testimony. When Christ was
 50 alive it wasn't what he said. Jesus said faith without works is
 dead. It wasn't what you said because it wasn't everyone that
 said Lord, Lord shall enter in but he that what? He that doeth
 the will of our Father which is in heaven. Lets become to be a
 doer in order for God's glory to be revealed when the spirit of
 55 truth is present unto me and you we who are standing on our feet
 and looking up and being laughed at because we shed a lot of
 tears. I been laughed at a lot so have you by doing that the

1 glory of God which is love, peace, gentleness, long-suffering,
 the glory of God all of this could be revealed in me and you here
 today as christians of the Lord. Now lets suffer. Its good
 that you're buffed. You don't grumble because you're sick.
 5 It's good sometimes we have to come to be low in order to recog-
 nize God as He really is. I hope that I don't get that far
 away from Gdd that God has to put me on the flat of my back yonder
 in the hospital looking toward the ceiling. That God has to
 10 remove a part of my limbs that God has to remove my hearing or
 sight or so to let us know that God is God. I hope that I don't
 to that far. Show me that you should take the word of the truth,
 the book which is give the truth, we should take that and believe
 that. Now there aren't many of us today in the Church, my
 15 closing remarks, there aren't many of us - we're short in number
 and afalling away all the time. God said except there come to
 be a shorting of days, there shall no flesh be saved but He said
 for the elect sake I will shorten the days. Now God did not mean
 that He'd take a 12 hour day and make a 8 hour day. They'll be
 20 a 12 hour day as long as time lasts, but God meant this. I do
 not expect to live as long as my daddy has lived. I do not
 expect to reach as far as Brother A. I don't expect my son to
 go as far as me. Except there be a shortening of days there
 shall no flesh be saved. He said for the elect sake that He
 25 would shorten the days. Now the day is counted as no time with
 God as I said is as a thousand years. There has never been a
 man living that day out that God said He would die in. Now I
 want to say this my friends, that time is getting short. Our
 children will not live long because of time. Time is getting
 to be like Sodom and Gomorah. Then our days in life to the
 30 life of the average man is 50 some years, Brother A, I wouldn't
 know is fifty- some years. A few years ago it was 53. I
 believe maybe now its shorter than that. The average life of a
 man only gives him enough time to repent and work his salvation
 out with fear and trembling. There aren't many of us christ-
 35 ians, hang on, pray for me and I'll pray for you. And I tell
 you what I'd like for us to do in that coming of the son of God.
 He said that time had come when Jesus would come. Back yonder
 John the Revelator looked up into the heavens, I'm going to state
 this right here, now, then, may there be in the dark but its good
 40 for you to be in the dark sometimes that you may study the word
 of the Lord. John looked into the heavens and he saw new
 Jerusalem, not old Jerusalem, but he saw the kingdom the church
 which is now acoming down from God, a heavenly door as a bride
 for her husband, friends, I don't glory in myself or in what I've
 45 got on, I've just got a few rags and what I've got the church
 has got. Me I just got a few rags and I glory in none of them
 that's just to hide my nakedness here as a being in the world,
 but there is a garment that Christ give me that I'm proud of to-
 day and when I think that it's spotted or wrinkled, I have a
 50 prayer with God and. And God said let not the son go out which
 is Jesus Christ the righteous. He's an advocator that prays.
 Don't let me spot my garment, I want my garment to be white,
 pure, undefiled that he give me to wear. Are you proud today
 of the robe of righteousness that you've got on? Remember that
 55 John looked up and saw the church, the new jerusalem coming down
 from God out of heaven. A door already graced that's what they
 was coming to. The trumpet has sounded and called your name

1 and you got up Brother A and stood up upon your feet and you're
 already young but you're not a bit younger in heaven than you are
 here. You rise as you die, you go down as you come up, you'll
 5 be old in heaven like you are here. The child'll be a child in
 heaven like he is here. They's one thing I'd like to get to
 you, I may not know you when I look at you but the spirit of
 God will let me know who you are and I'd like to take a stroll
 10 down through heaven and I'll know you on that great day when God
 blows the trumpet and made you get up dressed in white and called
 you and presented you to his father in that day and time.
 Christian you'll never have to be on your knees and pray. Jesus
 says you will not have to ask of me you can ask of your Father
 yourself for I will show Him to you. Ain't that wonderful,
 15 people, that Christ will take the church and present it unto the
 Father. We won't have to ask Christ for anything. I'm going
 to heaven by the help of God. How about you? Let's see your
 hands, are you glad you're a christian? Are you willing to let
 the glory of God be revealed in you? Has the glory of God when
 20 he says saints your voice down here may not be so pretty but to
 God its like a bird in the tree that sung. The bird played its
 part and let the world know about the glory of God that's been
 revealed in us. Pray for me, I'm glad I'm christian. I'm just
 an old boy, a mother's son expecting to live in heaven with her
 and some of my brothers. Brother preachers and pastors, ain't
 25 you glad that Christ come and died for you? I got so happy this
 morning coming down the road that I couldn't hardly stand it.
 I felt so close to the Lord and I was so happy to know that I
 was in the fellowship of God and God could commune with me. We
 spent two nights together, bless the Lord, I'm glad I'm a christ-
 30 ian. You mothers who have got children that are lost and are
 christian, don't froget to pray for them when you come to church.
 Just let your wants be known when you come to the church, Say,
 pray for my boy, pray for my daughter, pray for my husband, pray
 for my wife, let your wants be known to God. Lets not be ash-
 35 amed to call upon God. God's got to be here and He's here just
 a short distance. God is so big that he can hear from one side
 of the earth to the other. God's eyes is so strong that Christ
 stood in one place and saw the entire world and the devil said
 40 I'll get all of this from you. He stood in one place and saw it
 all. I'm glad to have just a part of God's eyes, just a part
 of His hearing, just a part of His feeling, just a part of His
 arms. Say christians if I have worried ye in any way I want
 you to look over me. I'm ignorant, I'm unlearned and I'm sort
 of like the bush brought by Moses yonder where it set on fire.
 45 Little old scrubby bush God has picked out to set on fire. And
 if you remember they's a great message it doesn't take a great
 man this mighty statue that I had you pictured a big man, well
 if that's the way you had me pictured you was surprised then you
 couldn't expect anything. You couldn't expect a small pony to
 50 pull a number ten plow but Paul says with the help of God, I'm
 able to do all things. So lets take the Lord and remember one
 message, one quotation brother pastor if you remember yonder when
 God had Moses to cast the rod down upon the ground, he casted
 the rod with the spirit of the word of God down on the ground
 55 and the word of the Lord become to be a serpant, Christ, the
 word of God, christ taken his place down beneath the earth with
 the wicked, brother, the rod become to be a serpant and He told

1 him not to pick it up by the other end, he picked it up by the
tail and when he picked it up by the tail it become to be a rod.
Now its one thing to know which end of the plow to get hold of
in order to plow with. Some men plow with one end and some
5 another, the reason of that is they's only one way to the word of
God and that is the light way and Jesus says I am the way. Did
you ever see a man walk with the big end of the stick? He uses
the little end all the time because the big end is supposed to
balance it, he lifts it off the ground and puts it out. The
10 weight of the big end automatically helps him set the stick on
the earth. Its nature that we should walk with the little end
and He wanted Moses to know that he had hold of the right end of
it when he picked it up. Now do you know that you have hold of
the right end of the word of God? If you're here and they's a
15 boy one time that acome up to me at the invitation to be saved
and I said are you a christian. He said I think I am now. If
you think you are you may have hold of which you have a hold of
by the wrong end of the rod. Now when we're christian we know
that we are and when you know who you are, you got hold of the
20 right end of it. It's wonderful to be a christian. So
preachers you fellows pray for me and I trust that I have at least
been a blessing to you and meditated the church just a part of the
faith that they had entrusted upon me in coming here and taking
part among these great ministers. So don't expect me to do what
25 they can do, pray for me. I'm glad I'm here. Alright pastor.

APPENDIX D

TABULATION Ia

(See Figure II, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 158.)

Year	Total persons al- located work	Total amount of work al- located	Total preachers allocated work	Total deacons al- located work	Total deacons's given work
	N	N	N(amt work)	N(amt work)	N
1923	10	10	6 (6)	4	-
1924	15	17	9 (11)	5	1
1929	14	19	13 (18)	1	-
1933	6	11	5 (10)	1	-
1936	15	26	11 (22)	4	-
1937	16	20	11 (15)	5	-
1938	14	19	11 (16)	3	-
1939	17	25	15 (23)	2	-
1940	18	26	14 (22)	4	-
1941	19	32	14 (27)	5	-
1942	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation
1943	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation	no infor- mation
1944	15	21	11 (17)	4	-
1945	18	35	13 (30)	4	1
1946	19	27	13* (21)	6	-
1947	20	44	13 (37)	6	1
1948	19	34	16 (31)	2	1
1949	18	32	16 (30)	2	-
1950	19	37	18 (36)	1	-
1951	24	36	18* (30)	5	1
1952	30	48	21 (39)	8	1
1953	34	49	19 (34)	12	3
1954	29	45	19 (35)	8	2
1955	33	44	26* (37)	5	2
1956	39	59	24* (44)	10	5
1957	36	54	23 (41)	9	4
1959	34	54	24* (44)	7	3
1961	34	44	22 (32)	10	2
1962	35	45	22* (32)	11	2
1963	33	57	23 (47)	7	3
1964	44	62	27* (45)	14	3
1965	27	45	20 (38)	7	-
1966	30	45	25* (40)	5	-
1967	29	48	21 (40)	7	1
1968	29	51	22* (44)	7	-
1971	41	66	27* (52)	11	3
1972	30	48	24* (41)	6 (7)	-
1973	35	56	20* (39)	15 (17)	-
1974	46	68	31* (50)	11 (14)	4

* Years when more preachers allocated work than are sent as delegates

TABULATION Ib

(See Figure III, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 158)

Year	Preacher allocated work		Work done by preachers	
	N	%	N	%
1923	6	60	6	60
1924	9	60	11	64.7
1929	13	92.8	18	94.7
1933	5	83.3	10	90.9
1936	11	73.3	22	84.6
1937	11	68.7	15	75
1938	11	78.5	16	84.2
1939	15	88.2	23	92
1940	14	77.7	22	84.6
1941	14	73.6	27	84.3
1942	no	information	no	information
1943	no	information	no	information
1944	11	73.3	17	80.9
1945	13	72.2	30	85.7
1946	13*	68.4	21	77.7
1947	13	65	37	84.1
1948	16	84.2	31	91.1
1949	16	88.8	30	93.7
1950	18	94.7	36	97.2
1951	18*	74	30	83.3
1952	21	70	39	81.2
1953	19	55.8	34	69.3
1954	19	65.5	35	77.7
1955	26*	78.7	37	84.1
1956	24*	61.5	44	74.5
1957	23	63.8	41	75.9
1959	24*	70.5	44	81.4
1961	22	64.7	32	72.7
1962	22*	62.8	32	71.1
1963	23	69.6	47	82.4
1964	27*	61.3	45	72.5
1965	20	74.1	38	84.4
1966	25*	83.3	40	88.8
1967	21	72.4	40	83.3
1968	22*	75.8	44	86.2
1971	27*	65.8	52	78.7
1972	24*	80	41	85.4
1973	20*	57.1	39	69.6
1974	31*	67.3	50	73.5

* Years when more preachers allocated work than sent as delegates.

TABULATION Ic

(See Figures IV and V, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 159-160)

Year	Deaconesses allocated work		Work done by deaconesses	
	N	%	N	%
1924	1	4.1	1	5.8
1945	1	5.5	1	2.8
1947	1	5	1	2.2
1948	1	5.2	1	2.9
1951	1	4.1	1	2.7
1952	1	3.3	1	2.1
1953	3	8.8	3	6.1
1954	2	6.8	2	4.4
1955	2	6.1	2	4.5
1956	5	12.8	5	8.4
1957	4	11.1	4	7.4
1959	3	8.8	5	5.5
1961	2	5.8	2	4.5
1962	2	5.7	2	4.4
1963	3	9.1	3	5.2
1964	3	6.8	3	4.8
1967	1	3.4	1	2.1
1971	3	7.3	3	4.5
1974	4	8.6	4	5.8

TABULATION II

(See Figure VI, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 160)

Year	Total delegates	Preacher-delegates		Women-delegates	
		N	% of total	N	% of total
1923	43	9	20.9	1	2.3
1924	56	17	30.3	1	1.7
1929	66	25	37.8	7	10.6
1933	-	-	-	-	-
1936	94	26	27.6	5	5.3
1937	87	25	28.7	6	6.8
1938	87	29	33.3	5	5.7
1939	94	31	32.9	2	2.1
1940	108	32	29.6	6	5.5
1941	90	22	24.4	11	12.2
1942	93	21	22.5	10	10.7
1943	89	20	22.4	8	8.9
1944	90	15	16.6	14	15.5
1945	89	19	21.3	15	16.8
1946	96	12	12.4	17	17.7
1947	106	24	22.6	19	17.9
1948	93	20	21.5	18	19.3
1949	104	24	23.1	11	10.5
1950	123	20	16.2	12	9.7
1951	112	16	14.2	14	12.5
1952	123	27	21.9	16	13.0
1953	120	22	18.3	19	15.8
1954	128	23	17.9	8	6.2
1955	122	23	18.8	18	14.7
1956	125	19	15.2	24	19.2
1957	131	26	19.8	19	14.5
1959	136	22	16.1	24	17.6
1961	140	23	16.4	28	20.0
1962	137	20	14.5	25	18.2
1963	133	27	20.3	20	15.0
1964	135	18	13.3	24	17.7
1965	134	27	20.1	20	14.9
1966	124	23	18.5	15	12.1
1967	121	21	17.3	19	15.7
1968	122	19	15.5	19	15.5
1971	121	17	14.0	14	11.5
1972	137	18	13.1	17	12.4
1973	119	19	15.9	18	15.1
1974	128	18	14.1	13	10.1

TABULATION IIIa

(See Figure VIII, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 161)

Year	Total		Church homecoming			Non-church homecoming		
	Preacher-delegates	(total delegates)	N	(N)	%	N	(N)	%
1923	9	(43)	6	(35)	17.1	3	(8)	37.5
1924	17	(56)	14	(42)	33.3	3	(14)	21.4
1929	25	(66)	20	(54)	37.0	5	(12)	41.6
1933	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1936	26	(94)	24	(66)	36.3	2	(28)	7.1
1937	25	(87)	24	(62)	38.7	1	(25)	4.0
1938	29	(87)	24	(67)	35.8	5	(20)	25.0
1939	31	(94)	24	(70)	34.2	7	(24)	29.1
1940	32	(108)	23	(82)	28.0	9	(26)	34.6
1941	22	(90)	20	(72)	27.7	2	(18)	11.1
1942	21	(93)	18	(73)	24.6	3	(20)	15.0
1943	20	(89)	18	(70)	25.7	2	(19)	10.5
1944	15	(90)	14	(66)	21.2	1	(24)	4.1
1945	19	(89)	17	(70)	34.2	2	(19)	10.5
1946	12	(96)	12	(83)	14.4	0	(13)	0
1947	24	(106)	23	(87)	26.4	1	(19)	5.2
1948	20	(93)	19	(83)	22.8	1	(10)	10.0
1949	24	(104)	24	(94)	25.5	0	(20)	0
1950	20	(123)	20	(105)	19.0	0	(19)	0
1951	16	(112)	14	(93)	15.1	2	(19)	10.5
1952	27	(123)	26	(109)	23.8	1	(14)	7.1
1953	22	(120)	22	(108)	20.3	0	(12)	0
1954	23	(128)	23	(113)	20.3	0	(15)	0
1955	23	(122)	22	(105)	20.9	1	(17)	5.8
1956	19	(125)	18	(107)	16.8	1	(18)	5.5
1957	26	(131)	25	(116)	21.5	1	(15)	6.6
1959	22	(136)	19	(116)	16.3	3	(20)	15.0
1961	23	(140)	22	(121)	18.1	1	(19)	5.2
1962	20	(137)	18	(120)	15.0	2	(17)	11.7
1963	27	(133)	22	(116)	18.9	5	(17)	29.4
1964	18	(135)	15	(118)	12.7	3	(17)	17.6
1965	27	(134)	23	(118)	19.4	4	(16)	25.0
1966	23	(124)	19	(109)	17.4	4	(15)	26.6
1967	21	(121)	19	(106)	17.9	3	(15)	20.0
1968	19	(122)	16	(108)	14.8	3	(14)	21.4
1971	17	(121)	13	(105)	12.3	4	(16)	25.0
1972	18	(137)	14	(115)	12.1	4	(22)	18.2
1973	19	(119)	14	(97)	14.4	5	(22)	22.7
1974	18	(128)	15	(110)	13.6	3	(18)	16.6

TABULATION IIIb

(See Figure VIII , Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 161)

Year	Total women-delegates		Church homecoming			Non-church homecoming		
		((total delegates))	N	(N)	%	N	(N)	%
1923	1	(43)	1	(35)	2.8	0	(8)	0
1924	1	(56)	0	(42)	0	1	(14)	7.1
1929	7	(66)	3	(54)	5.5	4	(12)	33.3
1933	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1936	5	(94)	5	(66)	7.5	0	(28)	0
1937	6	(87)	6	(62)	9.6	0	(25)	0
1938	5	(87)	5	(67)	7.4	0	(20)	0
1939	2	(94)	2	(70)	2.8	0	(24)	0
1940	6	(108)	3	(82)	3.6	3	(26)	11.5
1941	11	(90)	7	(72)	9.7	4	(18)	22.2
1942	10	(93)	9	(73)	6.3	1	(20)	5.0
1943	8	(89)	8	(70)	11.4	0	(19)	0
1944	14	(90)	10	(66)	15.1	4	(24)	16.6
1945	15	(89)	12	(70)	17.1	3	(19)	15.7
1946	17	(96)	15	(83)	18.0	2	(13)	15.3
1947	19	(106)	13	(87)	14.9	6	(19)	31.5
1948	18	(93)	15	(83)	18.0	3	(10)	30.0
1949	11	(104)	11	(94)	11.7	0	(20)	0
1950	12	(123)	10	(105)	9.5	2	(19)	10.5
1951	14	(112)	10	(93)	10.7	4	(19)	21.0
1952	16	(123)	12	(109)	11.0	4	(14)	28.5
1953	19	(120)	16	(108)	14.8	3	(12)	25.0
1954	8	(128)	5	(113)	4.4	3	(15)	20.0
1955	18	(122)	13	(105)	12.3	5	(17)	29.4
1956	24	(125)	18	(107)	16.8	6	(18)	33.3
1957	19	(131)	15	(116)	12.9	4	(15)	26.6
1959	23	(136)	15	(116)	12.9	9	(20)	45.0
1961	28	(140)	22	(121)	18.1	6	(19)	31.5
1962	25	(137)	20	(120)	16.6	5	(17)	29.4
1963	20	(133)	15	(116)	12.9	5	(17)	29.4
1964	24	(135)	19	(118)	16.1	5	(17)	29.4
1965	20	(134)	15	(118)	12.7	5	(16)	31.2
1966	15	(124)	8	(109)	7.3	7	(15)	46.6
1967	19	(121)	10	(106)	9.4	9	(15)	60.0
1968	19	(122)	12	(108)	11.1	7	(14)	50.0
1971	14	(121)	12	(105)	11.4	2	(16)	12.5
1972	17	(137)	15	(115)	13.0	2	(22)	9.0
1973	18	(119)	14	(97)	14.4	4	(22)	18.1
1974	13	(128)	12	(110)	10.9	1	(18)	5.5

TABULATION IV

(See Figure IX, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 163)

Year	Total churches	Church with pastor	Pastoral appointment to individuals	(% of preachers)	Total preachers
1923	29	29	16	(31.4)	51
1924	31	31	17	(31.4)	54
1929	29	29	16	(28.6)	56
1933	36	35*	21	(35.6)	59
1936	40	40	25	(42.3)	65
1937	40	36*	24	(42.1)	57
1938	39	34*	22	(39.4)	56
1939	38	37*	23	(37.7)	61
1940	42	41*	22	(31.8)	63
1941	40	39*	24	(36.5)	64
1942	41	41	26	(39.5)	66
1943	40	40	24	(35.3)	68
1944	42	36*	25	(36.7)	67
1945	41	40*	27	(39.7)	68
1946	38	38	20	(32.3)	62
1947	42	39*	25	(37.3)	67
1948	36	36	23	(33.8)	68
1949	42	42	27	(39.1)	69
1950	43	43	25	(38.8)	74
1951	44	44	27	(38.6)	70
1952	45	45	30	(42.0)	71
1953	45	45	29	(38.7)	75
1954	46	46	30	(40.0)	75
1955	46	46	31	(41.8)	76
1956	47	47	37	(43.0)	86
1957	47	47	37	(31.7)	101
1959	50	50	37	(31.7)	101
1961	51	51	40	(40.4)	99
1962	49	49	39	(39.0)	100
1963	50	50	40	(38.9)	103
1964	49	48*	37	(36.3)	102
1965	52	52	44	(42.6)	103
1966	45	45	36	(33.3)	114
1967	46	46	38	(36.6)	101
1968	45	44*	36	(37.9)	95
1971	48	47*	41	(38.7)	106
1972	49	47*	42	(41.2)	102
1973	46	46	39	(37.1)	105
1974	46	45*	39	(35.8)	109

* Actual number of churches reporting a pastor for the year

TABULATION V

(See Figures X and XI, Chapter Three, Section II, pg. 164)

Church with pastor	Year	Total Samples ^o		Preachers Appointments
		single	%	multiple
29	1923	9	(31.0)	7
31	1924	8	(25.8)	9
39	1929	8	(20.5)	8
35	1933	9	(25.7)	12
40	1936	16	(40.0)	9
36	1937	15	(41.6)	9
35	1938	14	(40.0)	8
37	1939	15	(40.5)	8
41	1940	10	(24.3)	12
39	1941	14	(35.8)	10
41	1942	15	(36.5)	11
40	1943	15	(37.5)	9
39	1944	16	(41.0)	9
40	1945	18	(45.0)	9
38	1946	10	(26.3)	10
39	1947	13	(33.3)	12
36	1948	13	(36.1)	10
42	1949	18	(42.8)	9
43	1950	15	(34.8)	10
44	1951	14	(31.8)	13
45	1952	22	(48.8)	8
46	1953	16	(34.7)	13
46	1954	18	(39.1)	12
46	1955	19	(41.3)	12
47	1956	29	(61.7)	8
47	1957	24	(47.1)	13
50	1959	26	(52.0)	11
51	1961	31	(80.0)	9
49	1962	29	(59.1)	10
50	1963	31	(62.0)	9
48	1964	27	(56.2)	10
52	1965	37	(71.1)	7
45	1966	27	(60.0)	9
46	1967	30	(65.2)	8
45	1968	27	(60.0)	9
47	1971	34	(72.3)	7
47	1972	37	(78.7)	5
45	1973	33	(73.3)	6
46	1974	33	(71.7)	6

TABULATION VI

(See Figure XV, Chapter Three, Section III, pg. 170)

Chi-Squared Test: Alternative Groupings

- Two way break-down when unknowns grouped with Church Homecoming Grouping.

	Problems	No Problems	N
Homecoming - Unknowns Grouping (expected frequency)	46 (33.8)	8 (20.1)	54
Non-homecoming Grouping (expected frequency)	6 (18.1)	23 (10.8)	29
N	52	31	83
Chi-Squared is 32 with 1 degree of freedom at .001 significance level (minimum value of Chi-Square is 10.83).			

- Two-way break-down when unknowns grouped with Non-Church Homecoming Grouping.

	Problems	No Problems	N
Homecoming Grouping (expected frequency)	39 (28.8)	7 (17.1)	46
Non-homecoming - Unknowns Grouping (expected frequency)	13 (21.4)	24 (13.8)	37
N	52	31	83
Chi-Squared is 18.3 with 1 degree of freedom at .001 significance level (minimum value of Chi-Square is 10.83).			

This alternative was selected because of groupings giving units of nearly the same size; 46 and 37.

TABULATION VII

(See Chapter Three, Section III, pg. 171)

Year	Exclusions	#Churches	Baptisms	#Churches	Total Churches
1923	39	12	110	17	29
1924	11	8	234	25	31
1929	53	14	55	18	29
1933	38	16	192	25	36
1936	121	16	132	27	40
1937	32	15	121	25	40
1938	33	14	361	28	39
1939	92	19	212	30	38
1940	125	17	168	32	42
1941	50	18	121	29	40
1942	61	13	201	27	41
1943	72	14	62	19	40
1944	29	12	115	23	42
1945	20	12	170	22	41
1946	33	12	185	25	38
1947	29	13	202	27	42
1948	72	11	72	29	36
1949	51	17	238	40	42
1950	85	19	668	39	43
1951	78	17	267	33	44
1952	108	25	285	37	45
1953	68	18	311	34	45
1954	219	29	310	38	46
1955	198	21	510	40	46
1956	178	21	281	35	47
1957	155	17	286	34	47
1959	184	23	317	42	50
1961	313	26	373	42	51
1962	246	23	362	41	49
1963	108	23	303	35	50
1964	339	21	234	41	49
1965	221	19	298	37	52
1966	285	20	183	33	45
1967	43	13	252	37	46
1968	108	18	288	35	45

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